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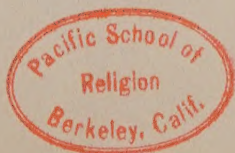
RECENT LIVES OF JESUS

E. F. SCOTT

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, NEW YORK

NOTHING is more remarkable in the literature of our time than the endless procession of Lives of Jesus. They come to us in all languages, from Christians and unbelievers, from historians, theologians, social reformers, poets and romancers. In their number and variety they bear impressive witness to the perennial interest in Jesus, and the significance which men still find in him after two thousand years. Yet there is another side to this widespread curiosity about the history of Jesus. M. Goguel, in the book which will form the main subject of this paper,¹ makes a suggestive comment on Renan's famous work. "There are questions, and the life of Jesus is one of them, which gain by being debated at leisure by specialists and brought in some degree to a focus, before they are exposed to the full daylight. The *Vie de Jésus*, by the very natural sensation which it provoked, perhaps thwarted, or at least retarded, the critical education of the French public." This reflection is pertinent to much of the recent work on the Gospel history. The subject is beset with intricate problems on which scholarship is still in doubt, and which cannot be treated except by methods that would be tedious and unintelligible to the general reader. A popular Life of Jesus must be written in vivid and confident style; it must be novel in its outlook and create, if possible, something of a shock. The writer is thus tempted to avoid all sifting of detail, to suppress the more difficult questions or to meet them with some ready-made solution. All sorts of theories and conjectures are thrust before men's minds without any data by which they may be tested; and the

¹ Maurice Goguel, *La Vie de Jésus*, Paris, 1932, p. 586. A very competent translation by Olive Wyon (Macmillan Co.) has now appeared.



result is only too apparent in the confusion of the religious mind to-day. It would be well if Lives of Jesus could be restricted for some years to works of a critical nature which did not aim at any general appeal. The enquiry has reached a stage where nothing is so much needed as patient, conscientious discussion. We are learning gradually what the problems are, but no one is yet competent to give them any but a provisional answer.

Among the countless recent Lives there are some which have a real critical value. It is only necessary to mention the well-known works of Klausner, Warschauer, Case, Bultmann, Bacon, which have already won for themselves a secure place in modern theological literature. To read them one after another is to realise the extraordinary complexity of the subject, as it presents itself to critical investigation. The authors named are all scholars of the first rank, who examine the facts with a perfectly open mind. Yet they arrive at different conclusions not only on points of detail but on the fundamental questions. For Warschauer the whole history turns on the claim of Jesus to be the apocalyptic Messiah; Case would deny that he ever made the claim. Klausner believes that the career of Jesus is fully intelligible against the background of contemporary Judaism; Bultmann is doubtful whether any historical knowledge of him is possible. With such radical conflict of opinion it might appear as if our picture of Jesus were gradually dissolving, but all the time it is taking more definite shape. Each of these writers, and the list might be greatly extended, has brought at least one aspect of the history into fuller relief. All the discussion, however negative in its immediate results, is clearing the way towards something like a true judgment.

Our concern in this paper is with the more recent enquiry, and especially with M. Goguel's very notable contribution. Some words, however, may be said at the outset about several books which do not deal directly with the Life of Jesus and yet have a close bearing on the subject. Professor Case has followed up his "New Biography" already mentioned, with a study of the changing presentations of Jesus which have appeared from the first century until our own day.² The idea is

² Shirley Jackson Case, *Jesus through the Centuries*, Chicago, 1931.

an excellent one, and has been carried out with the author's accustomed learning and literary skill. He shows, in a vivid historical survey, how the figure of Jesus came to be clouded over with metaphysical and mystical speculation, and how an interest in the real personality at last revived. A specially note-worthy chapter is that on the "Vita Christi" of Ludolph of Saxony in the 14th century, — a work which is now forgotten but which has epoch-making significance as the prelude to historical interpretation. In his closing chapter Professor Case reviews the various estimates of Jesus which meet us in present-day thought and literature. He finds that in all of them there is a more or less conscious evasion of the facts. He insists that a more serious effort must be made to envisage Jesus exactly as he was, under the conditions of his own time. The true Jesus is the historical person. His example and precepts are binding on us only as they approve themselves to our modern intelligence and conscience, and our attitude to him must not be such as to obstruct the road to further progress.

The recent work of Professor Porter has many claims to attention.³ It takes rank, we believe, with the most important theological books of our generation, and all through it there is a breath of genius which will ensure its survival for a long time to come. Dr. Porter is primarily concerned with the teaching of Paul, but he holds that through Paul we may find a new path towards the study of Jesus. The Gospels tell us the facts of Jesus' life; Paul had inwardly identified himself with Jesus. In the great passionate utterances where the religion of Paul wells up from time to time through the theological crust, it is in a real sense Jesus who speaks, revealing to us the secret motives of his life. The aim of the book is to recover this essential Jesus who lives for us in his Apostle. Dr. Porter denies that Paul's union with Christ can properly be called mystical. It had its root in a profound sympathy whereby the one soul was so intimately knit with the other that it was hardly conscious of division. Through Paul we come into direct contact with the historical Jesus.

³ Frank C. Porter, *The Mind of Christ in Paul*, New York, 1930.

A highly suggestive little book ⁴ is by two English scholars whose theological position is conservative, although they write with the amplest critical knowledge and freedom. Their aim is to prove that from the very outset, before any dogmatic beliefs came into play, an element of mystery was perceived in Jesus. The sense that he was different from other men finds expression in not a few passages which can be assigned, by the most searching tests, to the original tradition. The Christ to whom the church directed its worship was, in the last resort, the Jesus of history. It may be granted that this line of argument may easily be pushed too far, but the authors have done well to concentrate our attention on a fact too often forgotten. There is no means of disengaging from our sources a purely human figure, whom we may call the historical as opposed to the theological Jesus. The unaccountable element has always to be reckoned with as an integral part of the history itself.

There could be no better introduction to the modern study of the life of Jesus than Dr. Easton's latest work.⁵ The author has discussed, in brief space and with remarkable lucidity, the newer movements in the investigation of the Gospels, and his book is an impressive testimony to the advance that has been made in the last few years of apparent stagnation. He allows full weight, and perhaps too much weight, to the various radical theories, but his main conclusions are positive. He is convinced that Jesus claimed to be Messiah, and that he used the self-designation "Son of man" with its strict apocalyptic meaning. At the same time it is maintained that Jesus taught a "double soteriology," — affirming on the one hand the ethical religion of the prophets and on the other hand the apocalyptic message of the Kingdom of God. These two aspects of the teaching cannot, in Dr. Easton's view, be reconciled.

From works of a preliminary nature we pass to those which deal explicitly with the Gospel history. Although they have all appeared about the same time they are widely different in character, method and result. Taken together they offer something like a complete view of the present position of the enquiry.

⁴ Sir E. Hoskyns and N. Davey, *The Riddle of the New Testament*, New York, 1931.

⁵ Burton Scott Easton, *Christ in the Gospels*, New York, 1930.

With Professor Mackinnon's book ⁶ we shall deal briefly, — not because it is of minor importance but because it represents, for the most part, views that have passed into general acceptance. That they are endorsed by a scholar like Dr. Mackinnon is a fact that cannot be lightly set aside. He is a man of liberal outlook and transparently honest mind, who has no brief to hold for any critical or dogmatic party. He is not a professed theologian but a historian. This title is now in fashion, and is assumed by many writers who have never put themselves through the first lessons of a modern historical discipline. Dr. Mackinnon is the genuine thing. He has spent a life-time in historical research of the severest kind, and has acquired the judicial temper and the strict regard for facts which are too often wanting in the theological mind. It is in the historical spirit that he examines the life of Jesus. He has acquainted himself with the results of criticism and employs his sources with due discernment, but is averse to building too much on literary analysis. In the main he takes the record as he finds it, and submits it to historical judgment. He attaches less importance to the source of a given tradition than to its credibility, its coherence with the narrative as a whole, its relation to the aims of Jesus and the conditions under which he worked. Much can be said, even on critical grounds, for this mode of enquiry. It is always possible that the later sources may preserve good information, and to discard them for their lack of literary credentials is mere pedantry. There need to be other criteria than those of the philologist for the sifting of historical fact. Dr. Mackinnon works with that conviction, and judges every statement of the evangelists on its intrinsic merits. Everywhere in his book he throws a strong beam of common-sense on the matter in hand. He does not care so much where the tradition has come from as whether it bears, on the face of it, the marks of truth. This may lead at times to subjective criticism, but it is surprising how often our author's judgments are fully confirmed by the literary tests.

Dr. Mackinnon is satisfied that the account of Mark may be

⁶ James Mackinnon, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History, University of Edinburgh, *The Historic Jesus*, London and New York, 1931.

substantially accepted, and is suspicious of most of the variations in the Fourth Gospel. But while he regards this Gospel as in large measure parabolic, he holds that it may be used to supplement the Synoptic narrative. More particularly he would admit its testimony as to a Southern ministry in addition to that in Galilee, and lays stress in this connection on Luke's assumption that Jesus continued his work long after the Galilaean period had closed. For the most part, however, the Marcan outline is followed, with little attempt to re-arrange or alter it. The aim is rather to elucidate the record as we have it, stripping away from it all that is imaginary or doubtful, and making the Life historically intelligible. It is in this effort to apprehend Jesus in his character and surroundings that the book is most successful. The author never forgets that he is writing a Life, and considers all the problems in their immediate bearing on the life. When he deals, for instance, with the Messianic consciousness his chief interest is in the moral ordeal to which Jesus was subjected by the belief that he was Messiah. "The vocation was a terrifically exacting one. It must have overwhelmed any but a man of unique mental and spiritual calibre. It involved an indescribable sense of responsibility which only a supremely strong man could have borne. — He has attained and he maintains throughout the hardest of all achievements, — absolute self-dominion in devotion to the highest moral ideal." It is much to have a Life of Jesus in which this conception is kept steadily in view and illuminated by the historical facts. Behind all the modern investigation there is the vital question "What is the value of the life when it is detached from those dogmas and assumptions by which it was interpreted in the past?" Dr. Mackinnon leaves us with the conviction that Jesus carries his authority within himself. Viewed as he was, in his actual appearance in history, he still affords us a sufficient basis for the Christian religion.

Dr. Eisler's work,⁷ known hitherto only to a few adventurous students, has now been made accessible in an excellent translation. With its multifarious learning and complicated

⁷ Robert Eisler, *The Messiah Jesus and John the Baptist*, translated by Alexander H. Krappe, New York, 1931.

arrangement the book must have been difficult to translate, and Dr. Krappe has performed his task with unfailing skill. It is Dr. Eisler's thesis that the Gospel narrative may be reconstructed in the light of certain passages on Jesus and John the Baptist which are found in the Old Russian version of Josephus' "History of the Jewish War." He contends that this translation was made from the first draft of the work, — composed in Aramaic but afterwards turned into Greek, and never wholly superseded by the revised official text. Through Byzantine Jews this early work of Josephus found its way to Russia, where it was translated into Slavonic for the use of crypto-Judaic sects which flourished within the Russian church. Some changes were introduced to delude the Christian authorities, but these can easily be eliminated. What we have left, after the due revisions have been made, is the genuine record of the origins of the Christian movement as known to Josephus, in the generation succeeding the events.

If the facts had thus been divulged they must have been current knowledge in the early centuries. Why is it that we find no further trace of them in the surviving literature? Dr. Eisler holds that from the time of Constantine onwards a Christian censorship came into play. All writings that might possibly be dangerous to the church were rigorously dealt with. Some were destroyed; others were mutilated or radically revised. We are not told who these censors were, or how they contrived to do their work with such ruthless efficiency. They must have overhauled not only every writing of the previous three centuries but every copy of it, since the evidence they suppressed has wholly disappeared. But like all ingenious criminals they ruined everything by one small oversight. They forgot that Josephus had left a first draft of his work, as well as the official text. To do them justice they did not altogether forget it, for even in his revised text of the Slavonic version Dr. Eisler finds their hand at work, and is obliged to re-write the significant passages as they originally stood. Nevertheless a few compromising passages were allowed to slip through the meshes of the net, and on the strength of these the true history can now be re-built.

This Slavonic version, on which all these weighty issues depend, was discussed with eminent learning and impartiality in a recent number of this review.⁸ By arguments which to most scholars will appear convincing Dr. Creed has determined the date and origin of the Slavonic work. He has shown that where it deviates from the received Josephan text it contributes nothing of value, and that some of the additions were probably suggested by events in late Byzantine history. There are indeed some difficulties which will not be cleared up until all the texts of the version have been fully collated, and edited by Slavonic experts. Dr. Creed is careful to guard himself against dogmatic judgments. Yet his main conclusions have all the probabilities on their side. We know that in Byzantine times Josephus was widely read, though he never became a classic whose text was unalterable. There was a strong inducement to abridge and paraphrase him for the general reader, and the Slavonic version appears to have been one of those popular editions. None of the new material on which Dr. Eisler has expended such labour can be assigned with any show of plausibility to Josephus himself.

He is on safer ground when he deals with the famous "testimony" (Ant. 18: 33) which undoubtedly had a place in ancient texts and may conceivably stand for something that Josephus had written, although in its present form it betrays a Christian hand. The detailed examination of this passage is by far the most valuable part of Dr. Eisler's work. He puts the data before us, more fully than any previous writer, and studies the passage minutely from the point of view of text and language and context. But his keen and able analysis affords no ground for his re-construction of the passage as Josephus must have written it. At the most he only throws new light on the motives and method of the interpolator. For the view that the whole "testimony" is a Christian insertion is still, on every ground, the most probable. (1) As we have it now the passage is so radically Christian that it cannot have resulted from any process of editing. If Josephus wrote anything about Jesus his statement

⁸ John Martin Creed, *The Slavonic Version of Josephus' History of the Jewish War*, *Harvard Theological Review*, October, 1932.

must simply have been expunged and another substituted. (2) Christian apologists could hardly have avoided some reference to a hostile passage if it had ever existed. It has often been argued that there can have been no account of Jesus in Josephus since Origen appears to be ignorant of it. Dr. Eisler rightly points out that the words of Origen do not necessarily bear this construction. But we can at least gather from Origen's allusion (c. Cels. I, 7) that Celsus had said nothing as to a hostile notice in Josephus. Celsus, who had laid hold of every weapon against Christianity and who borrowed so largely from Jewish polemic, would never have overlooked the evidence of the leading Jewish authority. (3) It has often been pointed out, from the 18th century onwards, that the disputed passage is out of place in its setting. Dr. Eisler does his best to overcome this difficulty, but his arguments are flimsy and far-fetched. Josephus is in the middle of a piece of narrative which is plainly meant to be continuous, and the notice of Jesus interrupts it.

If Josephus said nothing about Jesus how are we to explain his silence? Dr. Foakes Jackson has acutely remarked⁹ that it need not surprise us, since he is equally silent on the great Rabbis, although he prided himself on his proficiency in the Law. Religious movements as such do not appear to have interested him; at least he regarded them as outside the scope of his historical work. This, however, is only a partial answer to what remains a real problem. At the time when Josephus wrote Christianity was not only a form of belief but a social force, with which the imperial government itself had to reckon. It could not be passed over as a religious eccentricity which only affected the negligible classes. Perhaps it is here that we must look for the true explanation of the silence of Josephus. He leaves the Christian movement out of his history for the very reason that it was so important. In Roman society, and apparently in the Flavian family itself, Jesus had found adherents, and though some of his readers would have welcomed an attack on Christianity, others would have resented it. Josephus had the journalist's flair for good copy, and would not willingly leave out an episode like the mission of Jesus, so

⁹ Josephus and the Jews, pp. 83 ff. and 279 ff.

dramatic in itself and now so interesting to the world at large. But he had also the journalist's instinct for what would please his public. On this subject of Christianity opinions were so much divided that he thought it wise to say nothing.

If it were certain that Josephus was silent concerning Jesus Dr. Eisler's theories would be left without any point of attachment. His reconstruction of the Gospel history is in any case so wildly improbable that it can have no basis in solid reason. He has indeed reminded us that a tradition about Jesus may some day be recovered from non-Christian sources, and that some things might appear differently if we had this Jewish or Pagan testimony. That is a possibility which must never be lost sight of. But we lay down the present book with the conviction that no extraneous records are yet forthcoming. It is only by a more intensive study of the Christian tradition itself that we can hope for any further light on the history of Jesus. Dr. Eisler's results are little more than a *reductio ad absurdum* of enquiry pursued along other lines.

We now pass to the work of M. Goguel, the most searching and comprehensive of the recent Lives. The author recognizes that in view of the critical findings of the last half century a new mode of treatment must be followed by the biographer of Jesus. The Gospels, as we now see them, represent a tradition which was developed under the influence of faith, and no biography, in the proper sense, can be attempted. Little more is possible than to sift out from the later elaboration the underlying elements of fact. The evangelists have given us nothing more than a series of episodes, containing possible fragments of authentic tradition. It is necessary in each case to lay bare the original fragment and to assess its historical value. The Life before us, therefore, is constructed on a different plan from that which is usually followed. There is no effort to present the career of Jesus in a continuous narrative, with the gaps in the Gospel record filled in by conjecture or imagination. More than a third of the book is of the nature of prolegomena, and deals with the history of the enquiry, the sources, the tradition behind them, the methods to be applied and the main prob-

lems to be solved. The procedure in the body of the book is determined by this preliminary discussion. M. Goguel is convinced that while the life of Jesus cannot be traced continuously it can yet be divided into certain well-marked sections, — the contact with John the Baptist, the ministry in Galilee, the crisis in which it culminated, the ministry in Jerusalem, the Passion. Each of these outstanding episodes in the history is treated by itself. Now and then, at the end of one of his chapters the author allows himself to speculate on the probable course of events, but he does not pretend to offer a narrative. His aim is to examine the separate traditions which have come down to us in the Gospels and thus to obtain solid materials out of which a history may some day be built.

M. Goguel is admirably equipped for the task to which he has set himself. He has the intimate knowledge of the ancient world which can only come through life-long study of its thought and literature. He has given proof in his monumental "Introduction" of his exhaustive research into all New Testament problems. Besides the learning he has the exacting conscience of a scholar. One ceases after a time to verify his quotations and references; whatever he states as a fact may be assumed, without further question, to be a fact. He possesses in a rare degree the critical faculty. This is sometimes thought to consist in the disposition to doubt everything, and to detect flaws in the plainest evidence. There will doubtless be readers to whom M. Goguel will seem much too positive. He does not approach his sources with any desire to discredit them, but keeps his eye sharpened for every grain of truth they may contain. This, it appears to us, is the true temper of criticism. When all is said, criticism is only the Greek for "judgment," and the judge who always hangs his man is not now regarded as the best one. In M. Goguel's court both sides of the case are always given an impartial hearing, and none of the evidence is overlooked in his summing up. It has to be added that along with his critical intelligence he has qualities which are still more essential. For the student of the life of Jesus, more than for any other, the Pauline rule holds good that spiritual things must be spiritually discerned. M. Goguel has sympathy and

imagination. He has an insight which reveals itself on every page in penetrating reflections. He has a religious feeling which is the more impressive because it is never obtruded. Although his aim is purely historical he is alive to the greatness of Jesus and to the depth and originality of his message. From this work of criticism we gain a new understanding of the Christian religion.

It is difficult to summarise a book which consists for the most part of the close analysis of various texts; but some of the author's main positions may be briefly stated. He points out, to begin with, that the scepticism which would deny everything in the Gospel record is due to a confusion between religious and historical certainty. For a history of Jesus we cannot demand that kind of assurance which only pertains to intuition and faith. All that we can seek to attain is that degree of certitude which is possible in other domains of history. M. Goguel believes that our records, when properly sifted, can yield us such a certitude.

In his general estimate of the Gospels he takes the ground which is familiar to readers of his "Introduction." He is satisfied with the approved methods of Gospel criticism, and does not think that the results achieved by them have been seriously affected by the experiments of "Formgeschichte." The "forms" which have been distinguished are all found, on closer examination, to fall into the class of "Mischformen." In any case, it cannot be maintained that certain forms adopted for church teaching produced their content. The material was given from the first, and was gradually formulated in such a manner as to adapt it to the needs of the church. The validity of the tradition must in no way be confounded with the modes in which it has come to us.

With regard to the Fourth Gospel, M. Goguel takes up a peculiar position, which has a decisive influence on his reading of the history. He admits that the Gospel as we have it is governed by theological motives. It is not so much a biography as a sequence of meditations on selected incidents, for the purpose of elucidating certain aspects of Christian truth. Yet in carrying out this design the evangelist has employed a number

of ancient traditions, and it is possible in large measure to identify and re-construct them, in spite of the modifications they have suffered at his hands. His interest is not in the facts but in their religious significance; yet the facts glimmer through the interpretation and can be recovered by a critical analysis. This is true, though in a less marked degree, of all our Gospels. Facts are subordinated to beliefs which had grown out of faith in the risen Christ. The history is steeped in these beliefs, for they had begun to operate on the very morrow of Jesus' death, long before the making of Gospels was contemplated. Yet we perceive, as we read the Gospels, that their record is not all of one piece, as it would be if a mythology had been substituted for history. It has been developed out of a number of traditions, various in character, which must reach back to things that actually happened. How far is it possible to recover these traditions in their original form?

M. Goguel seeks to arrive at criteria, of a purely objective nature, whereby the primitive data may be separated from the overgrowth of legend and reflection. He fixes, in the first place, on the crucial passage 1 Cor. 15: 3, 4, where Paul enumerates the beliefs which he had "received." Paul wrote the passage when a bare quarter of a century had elapsed since the Crucifixion, but already the theological development had passed through its initial phases. It may therefore be taken as axiomatic that any saying or incident which implies conceptions alien to those which Paul had received must belong to an archaic tradition. It must go back so far that we may fairly accept it as authentic.

Another test is afforded us in the contradictions which can sometimes be detected in a passage of Gospel narrative or teaching. The evangelist is plainly anxious to conform the events to a given scheme, or to enforce a doctrine which he deems essential; yet some verse or clause slips in which is quite out of keeping with the rest. Here it is safe to infer that the primitive tradition has somehow forced its way to the surface. The fragment may be so slight as to be hardly noticeable, but when it is considered in all its implications it may furnish a clue to a whole chapter of forgotten history.

Again, there is the test of form, which can only be applied occasionally but is by no means negligible. The sayings of Jesus are cast in a highly original Hebraic form, which appears to have been his characteristic mode of utterance. This turn of expression cannot have been created in the later Greek environment, and is constantly distorted by all the evangelists. When a saying is preserved in pure form we may safely attribute it to a time anterior to the passage of the tradition into the Gentile world.

Such are the main criteria on which our author relies, and he believes that the time has come to organize those elements of tradition which can be determined by means of them. It is no longer necessary to despair of ascertaining anything that is strictly historical, or to build up an ideal construction out of guess-work and imagination. Certain facts are at our disposal which need only to be interpreted and linked together.

It is only possible to indicate roughly a few of the main results which M. Goguel obtains by the application of his method. He believes that the date of the death of Jesus can be fixed, by several converging lines of evidence, as 28 A.D., and that the ministry occupied something more than a year, although it was preceded by perhaps some months of association with John the Baptist. The idea that Jesus commenced his work as a disciple of John is no new one, but it has never been so fully elaborated as in the present book. It is maintained that even the Synoptic writers, in spite of their evident desire to limit the contact of Jesus with John to the one moment of baptism, have preserved evidences of a much longer connection. Apart from the deep impression which John had made on Jesus, and which is apparent from a number of sayings, we have a statement like that in Mk. 1: 14, indicating that until John's imprisonment Jesus remained in his neighbourhood. Particular stress is laid on the confessedly difficult passage Jn. 3: 22-4: 3. Its obscurities and contradictions, in M. Goguel's view, make it historically valuable, since they suggest an original tradition which the evangelist has vainly tried to integrate with his own account. When his revisions and insertions have been allowed for, we have fragments of a source which must have

told how Jesus, after working along with John, separated from him in consequence of a dispute concerning baptism. This, according to M. Goguel, was the origin of Jesus' ministry. He had attached himself to John, and for some time had been content to assist him in his work; but had gradually found that the ideas growing up in his mind were not in harmony with John's. He had come to feel that the mission of John belonged to the old order, of which it marked the end ("The law and the prophets were until John." "The least in the Kingdom is greater than John"). He had become aware of a new factor in the divine plan which made the change foretold by John directly imminent. John had declared that the Kingdom, in some vague sense, was near. Jesus proclaimed, in emphatic terms, "the Kingdom has now approached."

On one essential point Jesus had broken away from the thought of John. Entrance into the Kingdom had depended for John on baptism and works of repentance. This, at the outset, was also the teaching of Jesus; but as his thought unfolded he put God where he had previously put man. Instead of demanding any act of merit he announced the divine goodness. To the forgiveness and compassion of God he gave the place which John had given to repentance. This involved a break not only with the message of John but with Judaism as a whole. Jesus never consciously abandoned the Law, but he insisted that it was only a means to an end. All that was required of men was submission to the will of God, and wherever there was conflict between the Law and the will of God, the Law must go. By insisting on this principle he had already, although he did not himself realise it, created a new religion.

After the break with John, Jesus returned to Galilee, assured of his mission to proclaim the Kingdom and to offer it to all who would accept God's gift and submit themselves to His will. His new conception of obedience set the Pharisees against him, but they made little effort to thwart his activity so long as he opposed them on merely doctrinal grounds. Herod was suspicious from the first, and as the scope and influence of the mission extended, began to be openly hostile. Aware of his danger Jesus passed over the frontier and henceforth led a

wandering life, returning to Galilee only on fugitive visits. The geographical perplexities of this part of his career are reflected in Mark's narrative. Luke finds them unintelligible and simply suppresses everything that comes after the feeding of the multitude.

To this incident M. Goguel ascribes a primary importance. Whatever its nature may have been he sees in it a gesture by which Jesus signified that in spite of the interruption of his work he was not vanquished or discouraged. Not only was he still confident that the Kingdom was coming, but by the act of presiding at the symbolic meal he declared that he would himself dispense the Messianic banquet. M. Goguel would also accept as historical the notice in the Fourth Gospel that the people sought at this time to make Jesus a king. He finds traces of this episode in the underlying sources of Mark, who perhaps omits it for fear that it might compromise the Christian mission. Mark tells us, nevertheless, that at the close of the meal Jesus took care, for some unexplained reason, to separate his disciples from the excited multitude. There is here a significant gap in the narrative which John's notice exactly fills.

From the time of the feeding of the five thousand the claim to Messiahship comes to the fore-front. M. Goguel lays stress on the absence from Jesus' sayings of any suggestion of personal shortcoming. In this sense of a unique purity of will, all the more striking in view of the exquisite moral sensitiveness of Jesus, he finds the ultimate root of the Messianic claim. Jesus was conscious that in a manner different from all other men he was a servant of God. His assurance of a supreme calling expressed itself under traditional forms but was the outcome of a deep inner conviction. At the same time the belief that he was Messiah was inseparable in his mind from the knowledge that he would suffer. In one of its aspects it was the revenge of faith on earthly circumstance, — the triumphant affirmation that whatever might be his doom he had been chosen by God. On this ground M. Goguel does not hesitate to accept the confession before the high priest as fully historical. It was just at that moment of utter defeat that the con-

fidence in his sovereign mission would assert itself without reserve.

In his account of the closing events M. Goguel takes his chief guidance from the Fourth Gospel. He holds that Jesus arrived in Jerusalem at the Feast of Tabernacles (September or October), and continued teaching in the city until the Feast of Dedication in December. He then retired to Peraea, although he still kept in contact with his followers in Jerusalem, to which he finally returned six days before Passover. It is contended that on this view a great deal that is otherwise unaccountable in the history can be explained; e.g. the lament over Jerusalem, the favour which Jesus enjoyed with the populace, the friendships he had formed in the city, the 120 disciples who assembled there immediately after his death. The Synop- tists, we are told, have misrepresented the whole later part of the history under the influence of a theological theory that Jesus only went up to Jerusalem to die.

It is in this connection that M. Goguel would explain the Last Supper. Jesus had returned to the place of danger for the sake of those to whom he had proclaimed the Kingdom, and by means of the Supper he impressed on them that he was not the victim of a brutal, unforeseen calamity. He might have avoided death, but was facing it deliberately. He was offering himself as a willing sacrifice. The breaking of the bread set forth in parable the idea which had dominated his thought through the whole later part of his ministry, — that the Son of man must die in order to attain to his glory.

The arrest was effected by the Roman governor on the instigation of the Jewish authorities. If the Jews had been the direct agents Pilate's one task would have been to ratify the sentence of the Council, but we hear of no reference to it in the final proceedings. It was not as a blasphemer but as an agitator that Jesus was arrested; yet there is no doubt that he was first brought before the Council on the religious charge. The reason probably was that Pilate wished to ensure that the Council would accept its full share of responsibility. He knew the slippery ways of the Jewish authorities, and by obliging them to condemn Jesus, according to their own law, he debarred

them from protesting, at some future time, against his own summary action. But Jesus was not, in any legal sense, judged by the Sanhedrin. None of the rules which governed Jewish judicial procedure was observed. Jesus was not the high-priest's prisoner but Pilate's.

In the narrative of the actual trial only two elements can be retained. (1) The enquiry began at once with Pilate's question as to Jesus' pretension to be a King. (2) This charge of treason was of such extreme gravity that it was followed almost immediately by condemnation. When he asked "Art thou the king of the Jews" Pilate did not so much put a question as state the ground of a death-sentence. The fate of Jesus was decided not at the Praetorium but in the moment when the chief priests denounced him as a rebel and Pilate consented to arrest him.

In his closing chapter M. Goguel deals with some of the more general questions which have emerged from his study of the narrative. In what relation did Jesus stand to Judaism? How did he conceive of God and of the Kingdom? On what principles did he base his ethic? To what extent was his message affected by his apocalyptic outlook? In so far as the conclusions of this chapter are determined by the historical enquiry they lay stress on a *development* of the thought of Jesus. Beginning as a disciple of John he worked his way towards larger, more spiritual conceptions. Even when he had freed himself from John's influence three phases in his attitude to the Kingdom can be distinguished. (1) At the time when he sent out the disciples he believed that the Messiah, whom he had not yet identified with himself, would appear almost at once to inaugurate the Kingdom ("Ye shall not have passed through the cities of Israel till the Son of man be come"). (2) A little later, after the Galilaean crisis, he could say that only some of his hearers would survive to witness the Kingdom. (3) The saying preserved in Mk. 13: 32 reveals a new perspective. "No man can know the day or the hour;" the date of the Kingdom is quite indeterminate. Here we can see that while he continued to make use of apocalyptic forms he had broken with the ideas involved in them. The substance of his teaching had

never been affected by those ideas. He thought in apocalyptic just as he spoke in Aramaic, by the accident of his nationality.

A bare summary of the book is necessarily unjust to it. The positions which it maintains are not mere theories which can be considered on their own merits. They are deduced at every point from a close analysis of the sources, and the validity of the process must be thoroughly tested before any judgment can be passed on the results. To many readers it will appear that the treatment is too analytical. What purports to be a *Life of Jesus* resolves itself into a series of discussions, minutely exegetical, and isolated, for the most part, from each other. This, however, is inevitable in view of the author's purpose. He has set himself to place the study of the life on solid foundations, and this can only be done by such a method as he follows. If an objection can be urged against his method it is that he has relied too much on a purely literary criticism. Again and again he fastens on some disarrangement of sentence, some peculiarity of phrase or grammar, and extracts from it a far-reaching inference. The whole course of the history is sometimes made to hang on a solitary text, supposed to betray a lost primitive tradition. A method like this is at best precarious, for it is always possible to read an alternative meaning into the text in question. When Jesus says, for instance, "How often would I have gathered thy children together," this does not necessarily imply a prolonged mission in Jerusalem. In a highly emotional utterance the capital might well be apostrophised as the mother of the nation. M. Goguel might have remembered that he was himself writing in a "metropolis." But apart from the doubtful meaning of the texts they need to be placed in larger connections than the literary and linguistic ones. How far may they be influenced by later controversy or reflection? Does their testimony hold good when we try to relate them to the narrative as a whole? It does not seem reasonable to re-adjust the entire history for the sake of one exceptional verse; some attempt ought first to be made to conform the verse to the history. M. Goguel is never arbitrary or fantastic, and the method by which he works is essentially a

sound one. Yet we cannot but feel that it tempts him at times into over-subtlety. His foundations do not have the solidity at which he aims.

His conclusions depend very largely on the value he attaches to the Fourth Gospel. He has done a real service in forcing the question of this Gospel, as an historical document, once more into the fore-front. Recent enquiry has made it ever more probable that behind the Johannine interpretation there lies some genuine tradition, and in this book we have the first serious effort to assess its scope and character. This is not the place to anticipate the detailed discussion which M. Goguel's findings will doubtless provoke. Enough to say that he has stated them temperately and supported them by strong argument; and no future writer on the life of Jesus will feel at liberty simply to ignore the Fourth Gospel. Yet it may still be questioned whether the Johannine evidence is sufficient by itself to establish any historical fact. Our author himself acknowledges that history and interpretation are hopelessly entangled in the Gospel, but he seeks to discover notices here and there in which the historical datum is out of keeping with the interpretation. In these he finds vestiges of a tradition which has broken through the theological scheme. This task is carried out with singular acumen; but it is hardly safe to attribute to a source what may be nothing but slips and oversights on the part of a writer to whom bare facts meant little. It has to be remembered, too, that the evangelist's interests were controversial as well as theological. Almost certainly he wrote with the Baptist movement in his mind, and a motive may here be found for the emphasis he lays on the connection of Jesus with John. If the two teachers were to be duly contrasted it was necessary to assume that for a quite considerable time they were working side by side. In like manner the Johannine record of the Jerusalem ministry may be accounted for. M. Goguel argues that the Synoptists have abridged this ministry under pressure of a theory that Jesus only came up to Jerusalem to die. Have we any right to postulate such a theory, which could have served no intelligible purpose, theological or otherwise? All the facts appear to indicate that the

whole desire of the primitive church was to magnify the place of Jerusalem. This desire is sufficiently evident in the Synoptic records themselves. Sayings and incidents which most probably belong to the earlier ministry are assigned to the Jerusalem period. The story of the Resurrection has been radically revised so as to associate it wholly with Jerusalem. In both parts of the work of Luke we can plainly trace an anxiety to identify the Christian movement as far as possible with the city of the mother-church. If a large part of Jesus' ministry had been devoted to Jerusalem would not this fact have been kept on record? Would the Jerusalem church have allowed its solid claim to be sacrificed to a dogmatic theory? One of the tests by which M. Goguel distinguishes primitive tradition may in this instance be turned against himself. He holds that any statement in the Gospels which conflicts with later interests or beliefs may be considered historical, and nothing could be more at variance with the whole bias of the early church than the restriction of Jesus' work in Jerusalem to a few broken days. The inference seems to be forced on us that the Fourth evangelist has conformed his narrative to ecclesiastical interests, while the Synoptists are still so closely in touch with authentic tradition that they admit the facts.

It is one of the signal merits of M. Goguel's work that he seeks everywhere to understand the life of Jesus from the inside. Too many of the so-called "Lives" are more concerned with the background than with the life itself. They have much to tell about the geography and scenery of Palestine, the policy of the Roman government, the religious divisions, the nature of society under the Law. Jesus himself is lost in his environment. Consciously or not the impression is conveyed that he can be wholly explained in terms of the circumstances of his time. It would not be hard to mention Lives of Jesus which are learned and interesting and brilliantly written, but never come within sight of their real subject. M. Goguel, by his studious avoidance of external matters, has perhaps erred too much on the other side. He takes the frame-work for granted, and concentrates his attention on the central figure; yet, when all is said, Jesus worked under given conditions, and his thought

and action were in great measure determined by them. Not a few of the questions which M. Goguel seeks to answer by critical methods might have been placed in a different light by a more historical treatment. For want of such treatment some problems tend to be overlooked entirely. How far, for instance, did the work of Jesus have a political bearing? Was there any connection between his message of the Kingdom of God and the growing revolutionary movement? Dr. Eisler, as we have seen, would make this question central; prominence is given to it in most of the presentations of the so-called "social gospel"; scholars of undoubted competence like Professor Case are inclined to consider it seriously. We are grateful to M. Goguel for his firm rejection of all political theories, but some criticism of them would have been timely. Apart from the more definite problems there was place for some discussion of the outlook of Jesus on his world. Whatever may have been his immediate object his life was bound up with the larger movement of the first century. How far was he conscious of it? Was he limited by his Jewish horizon or did he react in some measure to the great forces which were moulding humanity in his time? Since his work was to prove the decisive factor in the world's history it cannot be isolated from history as a whole. Unless we regard the Christian mission as a mere freak of accident we need to know how it was somehow inherent in the life of Jesus himself.

From another point of view the book might have gained by a little more breadth of treatment. The chief difficulty of all biographers of Jesus, from the Synoptics downward, has been the interweaving of the things he did with the things he said. These have been felt to be inseparable, and yet in practice it has always proved necessary to keep them apart. M. Goguel's closing chapter on the message of Jesus is perhaps the finest in his book, and is so rich in suggestion that it might profitably be expanded into a book by itself. But we should have preferred to have had the substance of it integrated, in some manner, with the history. The life of Jesus means little apart from his conceptions of God, the Kingdom, the new righteousness, the sense of Messiahship. It is in his thinking that we must

seek the key to what he did and suffered, and so long as we confine ourselves to the bare events we are groping in the dark. The Fourth Gospel is in one sense the most truly historical of all the accounts of Jesus. It treats his outward activity as a symbolism, the expression in visible form of the divine life which dwelt in him. Was not that its real significance? The evangelist works, it may be admitted, with theological assumptions which now appear mistaken or inadequate; but he is right in his intention, and there can be no true biography of Jesus in which the outward and the inward, the action and the idea, are not merged in one another. This is recognized by M. Goguel. His interest throughout is in the mind of Jesus, and it is this which gives vitality to his book. But in his search for historical reality he is unduly anxious to avoid all abstractions. He sifts the tradition by a number of objective tests in order, as far as possible, to isolate the facts. This, however, is to view the facts abstractly. For when all is said the ideas for which Jesus lived and which found utterance in his message were facts, just as historical as any others. They need to be correlated with the things which happened to him before we can grasp the history in its reality.

M. Goguel himself tells us in his preface that he has sought to combine a critical with a "psychological" method. One reads this announcement with somewhat gloomy forebodings. Psychology, at least in this country, has come to be identified with the explanation of life by cheap mechanical formulae which are always precarious, and which are utterly futile when applied to Jesus. Even if we had data by which to explore his secrets he stands so much by himself that he cannot be measured by the psychological inch-tape. This, however, is not what M. Goguel attempts to do. By a "psychological method" he means simply that he has tried to study the activity of Jesus in the light of a development which may be traced in his thought. The nature of this development has been indicated already. Jesus began, according to M. Goguel's view, as a disciple of John the Baptist, and from a position similar to that of John advanced to the conception of a Kingdom of God which would be purely spiritual, and of which he himself was

the Messiah. Now a "psychology" of this kind is fully legitimate. It no doubt calls for inferences which may not be strictly warranted by the facts, but the very task of the historian, as contrasted with the annalist, is to exercise this imagination. Yet there is something hazardous in psychology, even when it is understood in the broader sense. Have we a right to assume development in a ministry which lasted so short a time? Have we the means of distinguishing between the earlier and the later thought of Jesus? Is it not possible that two modes of conceiving the Kingdom were together present in his mind? Besides all this, there is the question of his relation to John the Baptist. The theory before us is built on the assumption that at the outset he was a disciple of John; and of this there is no real evidence. Before trusting ourselves to the psychological method we need to be sure at least of our foothold. M. Goguel has indeed faced a problem which cannot be evaded in any *Life of Jesus*. The more we study the history the more we realise that it all hinges on the Messianic consciousness. Did Jesus believe himself the Messiah? If he held this conviction how and when did it arise in him, and how far did it undergo some modification? These are the vital questions, and it cannot be doubted that M. Goguel is right in seeking an answer to them psychologically. Little can be made of the actions of Jesus unless we understand something of what was going on in his mind. At this point, however, all methods of enquiry seem to find themselves equally helpless.

M. Goguel does not claim any finality for his book. He offers it as an initial attempt to construe the Gospel history with the aid of the new material and the new methods which have become available within the last thirty years. Opinions will differ as to many of his conclusions, but in several directions his work has indubitable value. (1) He has demonstrated that the purely sceptical attitude to the Gospel narrative is untenable. There will always be those who argue that Jesus never existed; that nothing whatever can be known about him; that the church from the very beginning wilfully distorted the facts. So long as there are minds of a certain type such theories will come back under varying forms, and no weapons

that can possibly be devised will ever kill them. But they will survive henceforth in a world of limbo. In face of such evidence as M. Goguel lays before us it cannot seriously be doubted that behind the Gospels there is an authentic history. (2) He has proved the necessity of a sifting and revision of the record as it has come down to us. The genuine tradition is there, but it does not lie on the surface. Factors have been at work which have obscured and overlaid a number of the episodes. It is the task of criticism to allow for those disturbing factors, and to select from the narrative those materials which have a solid historical value. (3) He has indicated at least some of the methods by which this task may be accomplished. The record as we have it is of the nature of a palimpsest, but the writing underneath has left traces, however faint, which may still be deciphered. M. Goguel may here and there have misread the writing. The tests he employs may not be wholly adequate. But he has suggested, in brilliant fashion, the kind of scrutiny which the criticism of the future must apply.

By a singular coincidence M. Goguel's book has been followed, at only a few months' interval, by that of another great French scholar.¹⁰ M. Guignebert had apparently finished his work before M. Goguel's was in his hands, and he is able to refer to it only in a few foot-notes. It is fortunate, on the whole, that the two distinguished writers were able to form their opinions in such complete independence. For a reviewer it is also fortunate that the two books, while they cover much the same ground, are entirely different in their outlook and method, so that the delicate question of comparison does not arise. Our only feeling can be one of gratitude that France has given us in the same year two books which are both of the highest excellence.

M. Guignebert contributed the volume on "Christianity" to the splendid series in which his "Jesus" now appears; and from this and his other writings his general position is well known. He regards the Christian religion as mainly the prod-

¹⁰ Ch. Guignebert, *Jésus*, Paris, La Renaissance du Livre, pp. xvii, 692, 1933.

uct of Hellenistic speculation, reacting on Jewish Messianic beliefs and a doubtful tradition about Jesus. In the present book he seeks to determine the nature and value of that tradition. His work is not a Life of Jesus, since a work of this kind is, on his assumptions, out of the question. It purports to be merely a study of some of the outstanding problems of that legend of Jesus which was partly the basis and still more the outcome of the Christian religion. As he proceeds with his task M. Guignebert tacitly drops his attitude of complete negation. He not only accepts Jesus as an historical figure but admits that the history is reflected, however dimly, in our Gospels. We feel, indeed, that it costs him an effort to keep faithful to his own radicalism. Again and again, after discussing some Gospel incident as if it really happened, he pulls himself up and remembers that it is only a myth. We cannot but regret that he makes it so much a matter of conscience to be always on the negative side. If he had allowed free rein to his critical and historical instincts he would have given us a book of real constructive value. His judgment in matters of detail is well-balanced, and sometimes surprisingly just and penetrating. But the great qualities of the book are obscured by its too obvious bias. It leaves the impression rather of a brilliant controversial pamphlet than of a serious historical study.

It is unfortunate that M. Guignebert, writing in a series which appeals to the general public as well as to scholars, has been obliged to deal sketchily, in a small-type introductory chapter, with the modern criticism of the Gospels. In view of his negative conclusions we are entitled to know on what grounds he rejects the documentary evidence, but nothing is offered us except a few vague assertions. We are told that the tradition, even in its earliest form, has passed through various phases, and that it grew out of the needs of cult and doctrine and catechetical instruction. "All the labour of ancient Christian thought on the oral and written tradition relating to Jesus may be summed up in one word, — it tended to the elimination of historical reality and the substitution of a magnifying legend." This is mere begging of the question. The business

of the historian is to analyse his sources and sift out the reality from the legend. This involves a process which can by no means be summed up in one word.

M. Guignebert, however, is willing to believe that in the Logia and the Ur-Markus there are some crumbs of information about the historical Jesus. What he means by the Logia and the Ur-Markus we are never precisely told, but from these documents, or rather from the grains of fact which he divines in them, M. Guignebert arrives at the conviction that Jesus existed, that he was called the "Nazaraean" in some occult sense of "Holy one" or "Messenger of Jahveh," that he was probably baptised by John, that he worked as a teacher for a period not exceeding two or three months, that he came ill-advisedly to Jerusalem where he was arrested by the Roman police, perhaps on evidence furnished by the Temple overseers, and was crucified. His disciples believed at one time that he was Messiah, but he did his best to undeceive them and claimed to be nothing more than a belated successor of the prophets. He did not wish to destroy or even to reform Judaism, but only sought to impregnate it with his own exalted hope for the Kingdom of God. The Kingdom which he looked for was purely eschatological. It was to come miraculously, but he believed that by expressly announcing it he in some manner anticipated its coming. In the teaching of Jesus M. Guignebert sees nothing that was strikingly original. It differed from that of other moralists only in its orientation of all duties towards the future supernatural reality. The coming Kingdom confronts the present world and is opposed to it. Jesus desires the one, and is opposed to the other, although the law of love, which dominates and attracts him, tempers in practice the rigour of his principles.

So the morality of Jesus, so far from being superior to all others, is not in the proper sense a morality. It seeks to create in men the disposition to detach themselves from life and adopt an attitude quite different from that which life presupposes and demands. What we call the Christian morality has arisen from the shipwreck of Jesus' ideal. His authentic teaching did not survive him and he neither foresaw nor de-

sired the future which replaced that eschatological Kingdom of which he was the prophet.

In his closing chapter M. Guignebert seeks to explain the resurrection belief on psychological grounds, and shows how Christian doctrine arose, under the influence of that belief, through the blending of Greek and Oriental ideas with Jewish Messianism. He concludes that "the divine legend which the evolution of the faith rendered necessary speedily covered and submerged the poor fragments of reality which the memory of the Galilaean disciples was able to conserve. Jesus was indeed the point of departure of the religious movement from which Christianity proceeded. Yet the enthusiasm which gave birth to Christianity was that of the disciples, not that of Jesus."

It is almost impertinent to say that M. Guignebert has written a book of extraordinary interest. That was only to be expected of an author who is at once a great scholar and a brilliant man of letters. Yet there are defects in his treatment which will at once be apparent to all fair-minded readers, even though they may share his general views. Reference has been made already to his quite inadequate handling of the sources. Perhaps he errs even more grievously in his narrow conception of historical evidence. He quotes in one place a remark of Renan to the effect that there can be truth of a higher order than literal truth, and makes the comment; "I cannot imagine, in matters of history, a truth superior to exactitude, and only discernible through a cloud of errors in detail." But if this be so, how is any history to be written? The testimonies are all at variance with regard to every detail of the battle of Waterloo, yet it would be rash to conclude that there was no such battle. History must form its judgments from a sum-total of evidence, not from a close reckoning of discrepancies. No one can deny that our Gospels are uncertain on almost every separate incident, but it is equally apparent that their authors are passionately convinced of the main facts about Jesus. This, as well as the inconsistencies, must be taken into account if the evidence is to be fairly weighed.

Again, M. Guignebert seems to take it for granted that every great man or event must be valued at the minimum. He always

reverses the telescope in his search for truth. One of his favorite words is "majoration," which he so uses that his more careless readers may take it to be French for "perversion." It implies that as time went on men saw an ever higher significance in Jesus, and thus drifted further and further from the truth. Since the lowest estimate must always be the right one the historian's task is to strip away from Jesus all that makes him more than a very ordinary man. To see him in the smallest proportions is to see him historically. But is it not possible that men came to see significance in Jesus because the significance was there? It is a well-attested fact that some men have proved greater, and not less, than they appeared at first. Later times, by a process of "majoration," have made a hero of one who was not so estimated by his valet. But it does not follow that only the valet's judgment can be accepted as "historical."

Once more, M. Guignebert approaches his task with a given historical theory. Christianity was the product of Hellenistic ideas, and these ideas must therefore have shaped the tradition. Jesus must be reduced to a figment of the later theology, or a mere passive nucleus around which it grew. One is always suspicious of the historian who compels his facts to support a theory. Life is free and incalculable, and its movements can never be explained by some prescribed formula. Baur and his disciples in the last century tried to interpret Christian origins by the Hegelian philosophy. Their effort was by no means fruitless, but it became gradually apparent that the ready-made Hegelian garments would not fit. In our days the magical formula is "Hellenistic influence," and here again there is no question that theory has been helpful. But we are growing aware of its limitations. The facts, as we study them more closely, refuse to adjust themselves to the given scheme. It seems to us the radical weakness of M. Guignebert's book that he comes to his facts with his conclusion already formed. He somewhere says that Protestant scholars, in their effort to understand Jesus, are still haunted by the ghost of theological dogma. This may be true, but they do at least try to account for Jesus, acknowledging that in his own right he is something unique and wonderful. For M. Guignebert Jesus himself is

little more than an awkward factor in the working out of an historical theory. It might almost be said that in his effort to establish a dogma he is still haunted by a ghostly Jesus.

M. Guignebert's is the most recent of our Lives of Jesus, but we cannot help feeling as we read it that it somehow belongs to the past. It stands for a position which was novel twenty years ago, but which we have left behind. Fresh lights have been thrown on the Gospels and on the growth of Christian doctrine, and M. Guignebert's formulae have ceased to be adequate. The temper of the age has become more serious, and we cannot be satisfied with the negations of the old rationalism. Above all, we are conscious of a real advance, in recent years, in our knowledge of the life of Jesus. The advance has been made almost unconsciously. A multitude of scholars have been working patiently on exegesis, textual criticism, analysis of documents, re-examination of minute historical facts. This unnoticed labor, in its cumulative effect, has changed our whole attitude towards the New Testament generally, and not least towards the life of Jesus. The problems to be solved have been defined more clearly. The right methods of enquiry have been gradually disclosing themselves. Some intelligible outline of the Gospel history is at last emerging from the mists, and will grow, we may fairly hope, in fulness and distinctness.

At the best it can never be more than an outline. There are problems in the history which cannot be solved, not merely because the data are insufficient, but because Jesus himself is inscrutable. The more clearly we seem to envisage him in the actual circumstance of his life the more he baffles us. If we possessed a full official biography instead of a few scant notices, the difficulty in understanding him would perhaps be greater than it is now. We can only take comfort in the thought which has never been more finely expressed than by M. Goguel in the book we have been considering: "While the personality of Jesus is the most mysterious in history it is also the most transparent. His words are stamped with an inimitable sincerity. No diletantism or search for effect ever comes between him and his hearers; and the consequence is that each of his sayings is like a window, through which we see the very depths

of his soul." Yet this very transparency is perhaps the chief hindrance to our knowledge of Jesus. Mere puzzles can always be solved; however skilfully the spring may be hidden, patience and ingenuity will find it. But here there is no concealment. Jesus reveals himself, to the depths of his soul, and for that reason the mystery escapes us. His life is an open secret, like the secret of Nature, which looks all men in the face but which no one will ever read.

ALTHEIM: REVOLUTIONARY OR REACTIONARY?

H. J. ROSE

ST. ANDREWS UNIVERSITY, SCOTLAND

IT is no longer possible for any serious researcher on the religion of ancient Rome, and especially on what may be called its proto-history (the regal period and the beginning of the Republic) to ignore the work of Franz Altheim and the little group of colleagues who, with him, form what may perhaps be called the Frankfurt school.¹ The present writer has seen no full-length criticism of his work as a whole, though more than one article has appeared dealing with particular points on his or his colleagues' theories.² This essay is an attempt to describe and evaluate his attitude, avoiding, save for the sake of illustration, discussion of details which may be right or wrong without seriously affecting the estimate of his work in general.

As is well known to everyone who has studied, however briefly, the history of the subject, two main attitudes have hitherto been adopted with regard to Roman belief and cult, especially in the earlier period. After the pre-scientific days in which writers, often very learned but extremely vague as to the difference between religion and mythology, real popular feeling (such as may express itself unprompted in cult), and poetical fancy, produced treatises which blended facts of Roman cult dating from early times with Hellenistic tales from Ovid or Vergil, there come those scholars of whom Klausen³ was perhaps the best representative. To them, ancient Mediterranean civilisation consisted practically of Greece and Rome; the dividing line between them was not sharply drawn; consequently material from either could on occasion, not only illus-

¹ Their chief writings, other than those of Altheim presently to be listed, form the series known as *Frankfurter Studien zur Religion und Kultur der Antike* (FS).

² E.g., A. E. Gordon, *On the Origin of Diana*, *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.*, lxiii (1932), p. 177 ff.; H. J. Rose, *The Cult of Vulkanus at Rome*, *J(ournal of) R(oman) S(tudies)*, xxiii (1933), p. 46 ff.; Hammarström in *Studi etruschi*, v, p. 363 ff.

³ R. H. Klausen, *Aeneas und die Penaten*, Hamburg and Gotha, 1839-40.

trate, but explain phenomena belonging to the other; what we knew of Ares could, almost without more ado, be predicated of Mars. This, after developing into the "Graeco-Italian" school of Roscher,⁴ gave place to the other tendency, historically a little earlier in its beginnings,⁵ which inclined rather to stress the differences between Italy, or Rome, and Greece, to mistrust analogies between the two, and to seek for information above all from the native Italian documents, where such could be had, or at least from descriptions of purely Roman ritual. Here the great names are those of Mommsen and Wissowa. Meanwhile, ethnology and philology were developing in their different ways, and the old mirage of an Italy and a Greece each having a population substantially homogeneous in race and language (save for Pelasgian and Etruscan enclaves) was rapidly following the children of Gomer into that strange region inhabited by seekers after Atlantis and squarers of the circle. By the time Wissowa's *Religion und Kultus der Römer* came out,⁶ scholars for the most part acquiesced in the following picture of Rome's early religious history; concerning the rest of Italy, the Etruscans apart, less was said, for material was admittedly scanty.

Rome was inhabited from early times by a population having two principal factors, one Latin, the other Osco-Sabellian, the traditional Sabines of the legend of Romulus. These worshipped a group of deities who, at some unknown but certainly not late period, came to be called the *di indigetes*, whose names, festivals, and something of their limited and clearly determined functions could be learned chiefly from the older calendar embedded in the ones which survive, in other words from those feast-days which are written in larger letters than the rest, and from what we are told by antiquarians and others concerning the *numina* to whom these days are sacred. Upon these gods and festivals were gradually superimposed, first a number of *di nouensides*, or immigrant gods, of Italian origin, in some cases

⁴ Studien zur vergleichenden Mythologie der Griechen und Römer; I. Apollon und Mars. II. Juno und Hera. Leipzig, 1873, 1875.

⁵ Its first important work was J. A. Hartung, *Die Religion der Römer*, Erlangen, 1836.

⁶ First ed., Munich, 1902; second ed., 1912.

originally Greek, as the Castores; then, in later days, yet other *nouensides* directly imported from Greek-speaking regions. This complex was what the Romans of historical times worshipped, before the coming of the great Oriental cults, partly in their own native manner, partly *Graeco ritu*.

Few would have denied, save for those to whom everything connected with the regal period was a mass of artificial fables, mostly created by lawyers and wholly under Greek influence, that something had been done towards the shaping of this complex by the Etruscan kings. To them, admittedly, if anything concerning them was admitted, the great Capitoline cult was due; under them, or at all events under Etruscan influence of some kind, haruspicy had been introduced; to the same source was due some rather vague and undetermined amount of the ritual, priestly costume and other externals; a god or two, such as Vertumnus, was or might be Etruscan. Beyond this, not much had come from Etruria, and the spirit of Roman religion, the *mos maiorum* with its clearly drawn boundaries between *fas* and *nefas*, was as characteristically Roman as the word *religio* itself, always clearly distinguishable, at all dates, from anything Etruscan as from anything Greek. The outstanding features of Roman *religio* were a deep awe of the gods, coupled with an utter lack of curiosity or fancy concerning their nature, apart from their functions. Hence the absence of all genuine native mythology, except perhaps a folktale or two. The general attitude towards these beings was one of *pietas*, a not unloving sense of duty, regularised in its action by abundant use of legalistic formulae and great exactness in ritual. Of close personal relations with any *numen* there was none, and in particular, no deity was supposed ever to have been a mortal himself or to be the father, mother or any sort of kinsman of a mortal, alive or dead. At most, the mass of the dead might assume a quasi-divine character, as *di manes*, or *di parentes*; but nothing in the least like hero-cult ever existed.

Now it is clear that if the conclusions of Altheim⁷ are accepted, much of this picture will have to be re-drawn. To begin

⁷ The works of Altheim referred to are: *Griechische Götter im alten Rom*, Töpelmann, Giessen, 1930 (R(eligions) G(eschichtliche) V(ersuche und) V(orarbeiten), xxii,

with, he deprecates the tendency to study Roman, to the exclusion of other Italian, cult;⁸ as in political, so in religious history, Rome without Italy is simply unintelligible; "diese Isolierung, die man durch Jahrzehnte geduldig hingenommen hat, wird unerträglich in einem Augenblick, wo ein umfassendes Bild italischer Kultur und Geschichte vor uns aufzusteigen beginnt." For such a picture we must look, in the absence of early written evidence, to two sources, archaeology and linguistics,⁹ the leaders of the latter being W. Schulze and his followers. Having thus got the proper frame for our picture of Rome, we must fit Rome herself into it. For the moment, this is an impossible task, much more knowledge and more study being needed; his work represents a portion of this study.¹⁰

Provisionally, the following sketch of the earliest Rome may be drawn. The earliest settlers were the "cremating," the next the "inhuming" Italici, and the Septimontium records their somewhat loose political union. This meant the union of two different ideas concerning the dead, for the inhuming stock regarded the dead as passed into the company of Mother Earth, and therefore as beings of no small importance, to be carefully tended and respected; the cremating stock paid but little attention to the destroyed corpse. The latter may not have put the ashes into the earth at all, nor worshipped an Earth-Mother, although in time these practices of the inhuming race got the upper hand and were generally adopted.¹¹

But from quite an early date, the inhabitants of what was to be Rome, like all Italians, were profoundly influenced from Etruria, and indirectly from Greece (including of course Magna Graecia), whose beliefs and practices made their way in largely through the Etruscans, but to a considerable extent also through the Oscan peoples of Southern Italy.¹² At no discoverable period

1); Terra Mater, same pub., 1931 (RGVV, xxii, 2); Römische Religionsgeschichte, i. Das älteste Schicht. ii. Von der Gründung des kapitolinischen Tempels bis zum Aufkommen der Alleinherrschaft, W. de Gruyter & Co., Berlin and Leipzig, 1931 and 1932 (Sammlung Göschen, 1035 and 1052). These are abbreviated respectively GG, TM, RR i and RR ii.

⁹ Ibid., p. 8.

⁸ RR i, pp. 6-7; cf. TM, p. 11; RR ii, p. 5.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 9; cf. GG, p. 3.

¹¹ RR i, p. 18; cf. TM, *passim*.

¹² TM, p. 11 ff.

did any such thing as a purely Roman Rome exist: "Eine Epoche eines nur autochthon-römischen, von aussen her gänzlich unbeeinflussten Wesens hat es im Zeitpunkt der Stadtgründung und damit auch zur Entstehungszeit der ältesten Fest- und Götterordnung, des altrömischen Kalenders, nicht mehr gegeben, konnte es gar nicht mehr geben. Ob dann die Religion eine Ausnahme gemacht, ob sie ein unabhängiges Sonderdasein geführt habe, muss zum Mindesten fraglich genannt werden."¹³ Nay more, although there was an early tendency to form an Italian culture, it was not, even then, purely native, but contained Etruscan and Greek elements, besides much mutual influence of one Italian people on another. "Daraus ergab sich die Folgerung, dass Griechisches und Italisches schon in alter Zeit nicht überall mehr prinzipiell zu trennen sind."¹⁴ Applying this to Rome in particular, Altheim completely demolishes the picture of a time when the *di patrii* of the standard textbooks were the sole objects of worship, and substitutes for it an early City which was largely Etruscan in nomenclature and cult. Of the seven hills of the Septimontium, Velia, Oppius, Subura, Caelius, and Palatium have Etruscan names.¹⁵ Of the gods of the oldest stratum Volcanus is pure Etruscan, Iuturna is a Graeco-Etruscan hybrid, Saturnus is the clan-god of the Etruscan *gens* Satre or Satria, Voltumnus of the *gens* Velthur or Volturia, Diua Angerona of the Anceronones (Etruscan Ancru Latinised), Furrina is plainly Etruscan, Anna Perenna not far removed from her in name.¹⁶ That this group was ever called *Indigetes* or *di Indigetes* there is no proof, and even if they had been, whatever that mysterious name may mean it does not signify "native." With this goes a good part of the reason for supposing *nouensides* to be *nou-en-sed*-, "neu-ingesiedelt."¹⁷

A very considerable part of the most ancient cult consisted in rites closely connected with the tendance of the dead and of

¹³ GG, p. 2; cf. RR i, p. 92.

¹⁴ RR ii, p. 5.

¹⁵ RR i, p. 23.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 38 ff.; cf. GG, p. 172 ff., 4 ff., and index under Saturnus, Voltumnus; TM, p. 91 ff.

¹⁷ RR i, p. 29 ff.; C. Koch, Gestirnsverehrung im alten Italien (FS iii), pp. 78-118.

their mistress, the Earth-Mother. The familiar *oscilla*, the *maniae* of the Compitalia, even the *persona* of the *ludi Atellani* were all images of underworld beings, the last name being a formation, by addition of the feminine suffix *-na*, with diminutive force, from Etr. *persu*, the name or description of an infernal power who apparently carries off the dead; the "little *persu*" was a mask representing this being and belonging to funereal ritual.¹⁸ Anna Perenna, Ceres, Flora, all had close connection with the dead and the world of the dead.¹⁹ Vulcanus' feast is in a sufficiently funereal context also, for the Tubilustrium, which Ovid says is his, comes in the month of Maia the earth-goddess, and trumpets were notoriously used at burials.²⁰ The Volcanal itself was a public *ustrinum*.²¹

In addition to their chthonian character, many of these deities of the oldest recoverable cycle were really Greek. Thus, Vulcanus is largely Hephaistos; ²² Liber owes much to Dionysos Eleuthereus; ²³ Diana is pure and simple Artemis; ²⁴ Anna Perenna, although more or less Etruscanised, has Greek leanings.²⁵ The Rome proud of her own *mos maiorum* and hostile to the ways of the Graeculi is a creation of comparatively late times, owing its existence to the national self-consciousness of Republican senators.²⁶ Certainly a Roman national religion did in time come into being; but it was no more purely Roman, or Italian, in origin than the English people is purely Saxon, or the inhabitants of the United States Nordic.

Moreover, since so many of the deities are either Greek or Graeco-Etruscan, they may and do have something of a mythology. In accordance with his general attitude, Altheim is far from denying that this mythology contains much that is Greek; but he strongly urges that a Greek, or partly Greek story, even if it be the invention of an individual poet, may and often does correspond to a pre-existing native religious concept. "Nicht mehr die frühe oder späte Entstehungszeit, nicht mehr die

¹⁸ TM, pp. 48-91; cf. RR i, p. 60 ff.

¹⁹ TM, pp. 91-145.

²⁰ GG, p. 188 ff.; the reference to Ovid is *Fast.*, v, 726.

²¹ GG, p. 175.

²² GG, p. 193 ff.

²³ TM, p. 25 ff.

²⁴ GG, pp. 93-171.

²⁵ TM, p. 93 ff.

²⁶ RR ii, p. 147.

Frage, ob volkstümliches oder Dichtergut, ist als solche nunmehr entscheidend, sondern das Vorhandsein eines ursprünglichen mythischen Kernes oder . . . einen ursprünglichen mythischen Gestalt.”²⁷ Thus, the explanations given for the rite of *oscillatio* contain most patent imitations of the Attic story of Erigone with its aetiologising of the *αἰώπα*; yet they have this characteristic throughout, that they are stories involving the violent death of someone and consequent rites of purification; hence, he concludes, it is but reasonable to suppose that the *oscilla* and their swinging had to do with the dead and the powers of the underworld.²⁸

Such being his position, and in all essentials that of his followers, it is timely to ask whether it is really a new and valuable method of research or merely a return, with better and more critical materials, to the pre-scientific outlook sketched in the opening paragraphs of this paper. If it is the latter, such an anachronistic aberration will soon spend its force; if the former, it is to be heartily welcomed and for that very reason to be frankly criticised, with a view to getting rid of the defects from which it, like all innovations, presumably suffers and increasing its usefulness in the further clearing up of so obscure and complicated a subject. To anticipate what I have now to set forth in detail, I consider it a useful reminder of certain methods which had been too much neglected; I believe that, in Altheim's hands especially, it has led to some very good negative results and may lead to positive ones also; but hitherto, I can agree with but little of his new conclusions, and hold some parts (by no means the whole) of his system to be faulty in themselves.

The Mommsen-Wissowa school, to which Warde Fowler belonged and Deubner in large measure belongs, practically confines itself to two classes of evidence, admitting others, if at all, only as corroborative testimony. Of these two classes, one is the material, largely inscriptional, showing the existence at the earliest recoverable date of certain festivals, priesthoods, shrines and names of gods. The other consists of statements, carefully sifted by the usual methods of documentary criticism,

²⁷ RR ii, p. 64.

²⁸ TM, p. 77 ff.

concerning ritual, prayer-formulae and the like, mostly from a few authors, Varro being the chief, who had access either directly or indirectly to official records of such things. Mythology, as already indicated, being, in the opinion of this school, non-existent for Rome, cannot furnish any material.²⁹ For Italy outside Rome the same classes of materials, where available, are of course used, but they are so scanty as to render quite futile any attempt to describe the religion of the other Italian cities in detail. Etruria constitutes a totally separate subject, no more to be confounded with or joined to that of Rome than the practices of Vedic India, although, once the earliest period (the "religion of Numa") is passed, some influence from that quarter, via the Tarquinian dynasty, is admitted.

That these materials are good and, so far as they go, reliable if properly interpreted, neither Altheim nor anyone else for a moment denies. But also, not Wissowa's most ardent supporter imagines that they are sufficient to furnish a complete picture, even of Roman cult in early historical times. That attempts should be made from various sides to fill the gaps in our information is only natural. One of the best known is that of the anthropological, or anthropologico-philological school, which, headed by Frazer, has done a good deal at least to make the motives of Roman worshippers more intelligible than they were otherwise. Its limitation, sometimes forgotten by its more ardent supporters, has been stated by Wissowa, who himself mistrusted it rather too much: "*Vergleiche mit den Bräuchen anderen Völker haben ihre volle Berechtigung, solange man sich gegenwärtig hält, dass es sich um Parallelen und Analogien handelt, die wohl erläutern und beleuchten, nicht aber als beweiskräftiges Material für die Ausfüllung der Lücken unserer Überlieferung dienen könne.*"³⁰ But no one, presumably, would have anything to say against the freest use of such comparisons, if it be shown that the culture from which they are taken has influenced that under discussion or been influenced by it. This is Altheim's intention in the parallels

²⁹ Wissowa, *Rel. u. Kult. d. Röm.*², p. 2 ff.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

which he cites from Greece and Etruria, and therefore their relevance depends very largely on the view we take of the likelihood of such close association between the various Mediterranean cultures as he postulates.

Neither Mommsen nor Wissowa was a prehistorian; consequently neither made much use of such evidence as was then available from the Bronze and early Iron Ages. Before blaming them, it should be remembered how very recently this has ceased to be wholly a specialist's subject, with its material scattered through scores of museums and a wilderness of periodicals. A glance at the dates on the title pages of half-a-dozen books (Peet's, Randall-McIver's and von Duhn's, for instance), which are or should be available to anyone who says anything about early Italy at all, will serve to remind us of the obstacles which, so lately as a quarter of a century ago, lay in the path of anyone not himself an adept in the mysteries of *terremare* and Villanovans and too busy with his own specialty to become one, yet desirous to know what light they had to offer him. But the fact remains that this interesting branch of knowledge was not exploited as minds of such acuteness might have exploited it, and when Altheim makes use of it to clear up difficulties regarding Rome, or Italy generally, in the field of religion, no one can possibly object to his procedure, in principle, at all events.

Italian linguistics, again, are by no means an exhausted mine. Etruria remains a land of mystery, it is true, yet something is known and something more not unreasonably guessed concerning her speech; while the scanty remnants of the minor languages, Messapian for instance, are today studied by a few zealous experts, by no means indifferent to the religious history of the peninsula. It is not only commendable to look in this direction; it would be obscurantist not to do so. Here, as in the case of archaeology, we must not neglect the fact, rightly emphasised by Altheim, that Rome is no isolated phenomenon, but part, and originally not an important part, of Italy, to be studied with and, if possible, explained by the other settlements. Nor is Italy herself a land apart, separated as by a Chinese wall from the rest of the world. When archaeology shows us plainly that imports from the eastern end of the Medi-

terranean existed in days *ante conditam condendamue Urbem*, it would be very bad methodology to exclude, for instance, the name of the Cretan Velchanos when we ask who Volcanus may originally have been. Not unconnected with this is the very thorny question of mythology, which will be discussed presently.

To begin with the breadth of Altheim's outlook, in the opinion of the present writer he is both right and wrong. Some day we must have a history, not of the religion of this or that Mediterranean country in antiquity, but of the religious ideas common to the Mediterranean basin, or such wider area as may be found culturally to include that. At present we are sorely hampered by lack of any thoroughly considered account of the factors whose presence may be taken as normal and their absence abnormal in any given part of the region. For example, Asia Minor gives us abundant evidence of the worship of a Great Mother, and clearly thought much and imaginatively concerning her relations to her lovers and children, Attis, Anchises, Aineias and the rest. That Crete had a great goddess or several great goddesses and that the divine mother and child were prominent features in Minoan religion is as clear as anything connected with that obscure subject can at present be.³¹ Mother-goddesses are no rarity in Greece proper, and certainly two of them, Artemis and Rhea, appear to be prehel- lenic. The whole Aegean area abounds in very rude and ancient idols of female form, having the sexual characteristics crudely emphasised. Scattered about various neolithic sites, as far north as the Channel Islands, have been found monuments of early workmanship having the same emphasis on breasts, vulva or both, and stray notices of the cult of some deity of fertility worshipped in Gaul or Germany meet us in ancient sources.³² How should we relate all this to the rather dim figure of Terra, or Tellus, Mater? Have we to do with independent development along parallel lines of the impression produced on simple minds by the fertility of the soil and its analogy to the fertility of a woman (cf. the double meaning of the words for "seed" in many languages)? Did the cult of a Great Mother

³¹ See M. P. Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, chs. xi, xii, xv, xvi.

³² See, e.g., Roscher's *Lexikon s. v. Matres, Matronae, Matrae*.

spread widely from some one centre? In the latter case especially, how far had the idea developed when it began to spread? Was it, for instance, merely a vague concept, as that of Tellus, so far as the official cult of the goddess reveals it, seems to have been,³³ of a power, in some sense female, capable of conceiving and bearing, and therefore appropriately worshipped with sacrifice of a cow in calf or the like, in order that their fertility might reinforce hers, or had it developed into a definitely anthropomorphic figure of a mother with her child or children, who must therefore have a husband or lover? for it would be very hazardous to postulate, for any European population whose ideas we may hope to reconstruct, such ignorance of the male contribution to reproduction as is doubtfully asserted of the Arunta. If the vaguer form of the idea was the normal stage of European development, say about the beginning of the Bronze Age, then Roman cult would seem to have retained a primitive form, as is quite credible among so conservative a people, and the dim figures of Tellumo and Tellurus are late and fanciful additions.³⁴ If, on the other hand, popular imagination had normally reached, or some influential centre had distributed, the fully-developed figure of a humanised goddess, comparable in her more barbarous way to Demeter or Isis, then the activity of the official Roman clergy resulted in a simplification, a confinement of the original idea within those limits which were of practical importance to the worshipper. This again is credible of so business-like and legal-minded a people; it may have been felt that so long as the Earth produced her children for the use of man, it mattered little or nothing how she came by them, and such details need not be mentioned in the official dealings with her. Tellumo-Tellurus might in that case once have been her divine consort, and have faded from consciousness as the conception of the goddess became less picturesque and vivid. Again, her relations to the dead, which have no necessary connection with her powers of fruitfulness, may be an inheritance or an addition; that they are old is indicated by the formula of *deuotio*. A case could easily

³³ See Wissowa, *op. cit.*, p. 191 ff.

³⁴ Tellumo, Varro *ap. Aug. De Ciuit. Dei*, vii, 23; Tellurus, Mart. Capella, i, 49.

be made, with our present knowledge, for and against the primitiveness of the bare and impersonal Roman cult, here and in many other places; I doubt if it would be much more than a case made out and controverted, an antinomy no more satisfactory than those of Kant. Meanwhile, to compare Tellus or Ceres with the fully developed Greek Demeter, as Altheim does,³⁵ is a legitimate illustration of his views; I do not see that it adds strength to them, while we are so vague as to the origin, distribution and date of the conception of the mother-goddess, giver of fruits to the living and guardian of the dead. We know enough of the early Mediterranean to be aware that very complicated and numerous streams of influence flowed through the whole region, mostly, it would seem, from east to west. To the exploiting of one real or supposed current of this sort while neglecting others are due the half-forgotten absurdities of the Phoenician hypothesis, the exaggerations of the Graeco-Italic school, and the still surviving pan-Babylonian and pan-Egyptian hallucinations. At the same time, premature assumptions, even if plausible in themselves, of influences and origins from abroad are very apt to blur the peculiar and original characteristics of the religion under examination. On this point, then, I think Altheim's methods dangerous, especially if followed by men of less learning and good sense than his. To fall into a more elaborate Graeco-Italic hypothesis would be retrogression, not progress. At the same time, it is better to be guilty of a premature identification here and there than to forget, what Altheim distinctly remembers and would have his readers remember, that all particular accounts of Roman or other cult are but preliminary studies to what must some day be written, the history of the European religious consciousness.³⁶

Coming to archaeology, the writer confesses to a not inconsiderable distrust, not of the science itself, which under modern conditions is thoroughly reliable within its limits, but of its validity for anything so subjective as religion. It is true

³⁵ As TM, pp. 112, 148 and elsewhere. The undoubted resemblances which he points out seem to me a long way from establishing "dass die römische Ceres ursprünglich keine Andere als Demeter gewesen ist" (ibid., p. 111).

³⁶ See RR ii, p. 5.

that the material works of man, which form the object of most archaeological investigations, express his thoughts and feelings; but if these are anything more than the simplest and most primary of their kind, the expression must employ a conventional symbolism, varying immensely from place to place and from time to time, the loss of which must make the objects themselves as mysterious as a script to which we have no key. If an English potter adorns a jar with the figure of a dragon, he may be indulging in a bit of *chinoiserie*, or his taste may run to fantastic monsters, or conceivably he may be alluding to the legend of St. George. One thing, however, is certain, that it will not mean for him what it would mean for his Chinese colleague, and to interpret it in the light of Chinese documents would land us in the grossest absurdities. So with ancient art. Kerényi has recently published an interesting, though ill-executed monument from Brindisi, of local workmanship.³⁷ The principal part of it shows a man and woman in a chariot, led by Hermes, surrounded by a clumsy attempt at a zodiac. He interprets it, and probably rightly, as showing the ascent to heaven of someone. But to reach his interpretation he has to make use of a number of written documents, which between them make it fairly clear what ideas were associated, at the appropriate time for this monument, with the zodiac, and also with what the car and the Hermes suggest, the Rape of Persephone. If these written sources were not available, he and everyone else would be reduced to more or less plausible guessing. Now in the case of early Italy, we have, it is true, a number of monuments, including some quite elaborate and fairly early Etruscan tomb-paintings. That these meant something, there is no question; what they meant is less clear. Do the dancers, boxers, feasters, spirits of the underworld and dead men represent a paradise to which the departed is going, are they reminders of the splendour of his funeral feast, intended to comfort his shade, or are they magical objects, which in another world shall turn into real and present entertainment for him? Arguments might be adduced and analogies brought

³⁷ *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, xlv (1930), p. 74 ff. (in Hungarian); A. R. W., xxx, p. 271 ff. (German version of same, with some additions).

forward for all three of these explanations. If pictures are so doubtful when there is no explanatory text and the subject is something existing rather in the artist's imagination than in the material world, it is more difficult still to interpret very early and non-representational material, as for instance the manner in which the bodies of the dead are disposed of. Here, to take an example from Altheim's own work, hasty conclusions are far too rife. I have already cited (see above, note 11) his statement concerning the different views of the importance of the departed entertained by the cremating and the inhuming stock respectively. Now this rests solely on the rite itself. The archaeological evidence is perfectly clear as far as it goes; the dead of one culture are found as skeletons, those of the other are represented by calcined remains of bones. But to deduce from this that the cremators attached less, the inhumers more importance to the dead, either individually or in the mass, is quite illegitimate. It is true that we have a good classical instance of a cremating people regarding the dead as ἀμύθηνα κάρηνα, and even justifying this by the theoretical consideration that the fire has destroyed the most important parts of the body.³⁸ So, therefore, it may have been with the cremating Italici. But to say that it therefore must have been so is to go beyond all evidence. Professor Nock has recently given us a study of the two fashions of burial in historical Rome, which shows among other things that the reason for cremation or inhumation was as often as not economic; the latter was often cheaper.³⁹ If we knew the prehistory of the earlier stocks in full, it is quite as likely as not that we should find the one to have formed its customs in a well-wooded region where it was easy to get materials for a pyre, the other to have lived in some place where fuel was scarce. Other examples of the dubious nature of evidence from graves will occur to anyone who has dabbled in the subject at all; thus, it has never been satisfactorily proved whether the naked female "idols" not uncommon in Aegean tombs are deities to shield and favour the dead, wives or concubines for his pleasure in the next world, or simply a

³⁸ Viz., Homer's Achaioi, see especially λ, 218 ff.

³⁹ Harv. Theol. Rev., xxv (1932), p. 357.

kind of *ushabti*-figures. Prehistoric tombs are not alone in providing such puzzles; to what freak of religiosity or sentiment did the Tivoli Vestal owe her doll? ⁴⁰

But a far larger part is played by linguistic than by archaeological evidence in Altheim's theories, and here we enter upon an excessively thorny and obscure part of the subject. There is, on the one hand, no doubt whatever that the language of religion is one of its most important manifestations, and therefore that the investigation of names of gods and sacred objects, liturgical formulae and the like is one of the most promising roads to an understanding of the worshippers' feelings and ideals. Moreover, religious language is conservative (witness, in Christianity, the retention of creeds many clauses of which have hardly any meaning left for the average layman), and therefore may be expected to throw light on the history of the cult. Hence philological research is wholly legitimate in itself; the question is merely whether it can be and has been fruitfully pursued in this particular area.

One of the greatest services which modern etymology has rendered our science is ridding it of a burden of guess-work and bad puns. Never again shall we be troubled with Zeus $\delta\iota'$ $\delta\nu$ $\zeta\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$,⁴¹ or the rhapsodies which once deepened the mystery of the Kabeiroi; Noah and Fohi, despite their two common letters, have once and for all parted company, and Daphne and Dahana have bidden each other farewell. There is, then, all the more reason for guarding jealously what has been won and exercising cautious criticism of each new departure. It is in this very criticism, that is to say on the negative side of this branch of research, that the Frankfurt school have done some of their best work. I do not think that any serious student can now accept the Wissowan etymology of *indigetes* as from *indu* + *agere*, in face of the evidence, collected most fully by Koch (see note 17) making against it. But on the positive side they seem to me much less happy in the etymologies they propose or adopt. Some of these have been individually attacked; for

⁴⁰ See Not. d. Scav., vii, p. 353 ff.

⁴¹ For this etymology in antiquity, see O. Weinreich, Menekrates Zeus und Salmo-neus (Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 1933), pp. 5-8, 105-108.

example, Hammarström (see note 2) has met the tentative suggestion of Altheim⁴² that the Dioskuroi may have been called something like Diutures in Etruscan or Latin-Etruscan, and Iuturna-Diuturna, their cult-associate, may represent the feminine form of that name, by the pertinent objection that what they were probably called was *Tinas cliniar*; but I do not dwell on single cases so much as on the whole system, taken over by this school from Schulze, of postulating Etruscan origins for a mass of Latin names. That some of his suggestions may be right is of course perfectly possible; but a great number, relating to divine names especially, seem highly unlikely in themselves and badly in need of confirmatory evidence. What I personally (and not I alone⁴³) find extremely hard to accept is the derivation of the names, or titles, of several gods from those of Etruscan families, as Saturnus from Satre-Satria, Volcanus from Volca-Volcania, and so forth. That in some cases a connection may exist I would not deny *a priori*, though I would point out that such an etymology explains *ignotum per ignotius* and does not get us much further; what I find next door to incredible is the existence of a number of deities having no names save adjectives formed from the clan-names of their worshippers. Such adjectives, applied to gods, are neither many nor early, though examples can be found; when they do present themselves, they are added to the substantival name of the god or goddess. Nameless deities exist, but either they are referred to by some such word as "unknown" (the Athenian ἄγνωστοι θεοί are the classical instance), or by periphrases (*di quibus est potestas nostrum hostiumque; si deus si dea est in cuius tutela illa urbs est*), or by various laudatory or non-committal epithets, as "good," "great," and so forth; I am inclined to reckon among such epithets the famous name of Orthia, which I would interpret as "she who stands upright," in respectful allusion to the pose of her cult-statue.⁴⁴ "The God of Abraham" sounds a nearer parallel, but it is to be noticed that

⁴² The possibility that both names were in use is admitted on both sides, see RR ii, p. 31, note.

⁴³ Dr. St. Weinstock, of Breslau, expresses a similar opinion in a recent letter to the author.

⁴⁴ See Artemis Orthia (London, Macmillan, 1929), p. 403.

Abraham was long dead when any such title was used as a periphrasis for the name of Yahweh. Even a new divine name is found uttered along with that of a prominent worshipper, not paraphrased by it (ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὃν ὁ Παῦλος κηρύσσει, Act. apost., 19, 13). To accept the Schulze-Altheim etymologies, I should first wish to see, somewhere near the appropriate time and place, a dedication of the form *Hesychiano sacrum* (for *Herculi Hesychiano*), or a formula like ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς ὃν ὁ δεῖνα κηρύσσει. I should much more readily suppose the clan-names theophoric, on the familiar pattern of, e.g., Gilchrist, Gilbraith, MacGillivray, and assume, if there really is a connection between Saturnus and Satre, for instance, that the latter is derived from some shorter form of the god's name. But in general, whenever an Italian etymology goes outside Latin, unless it be to one of those Osco-Umbrian words of which we have really solid and clear knowledge, I would regard it as tentative, and if it touches on Etruscan, without corroborative evidence, as definitely hazardous. Altheim's occasional excursions into Greek must naturally stand or fall, as regards their possibility, with one's general attitude towards his views of the amount of Greek influence to be postulated for early Italy; some of them seem to be unconvincing in themselves, as when the great name of Liber is associated with the much obscurer title of Dionysos, Eleuthereus.⁴⁵ And in general, it seems to me that we incur, in some recent excursions into the less-known regions of linguistics in search of etymologies, a real danger of reverting to the bad old days of playing with words, and of chasing an unfortunate vocable "to Gaul, to Greece, and into Noah's ark."

As regards mythology, the problem is if anything still more complicated. I personally have not seen any reason as yet to depart from the position taken up by most serious students of the Italian religious traditions, namely that the stories of the gods found in Roman authors and the Greeks who draw on them are without exception late, fanciful and worthless, having no connection whatever with any real feature of the cult or of the nature of the deities in question as conceived by worshippers before Hellenistic times. But, waiving that point and

⁴⁵ TM, p. 24 ff.

allowing some of the myths to be real, i.e., not totally artificial and literary creations, mythology is a very precarious basis for investigation into religious facts, unless there is fairly abundant evidence from other sources. That there was once a real Attic myth concerning Prokris is likely enough; her story, as we have it, is so buried under late and romantic accretions as to render it impossible to say more of her than that she was an Attic heroine, apparently of some importance. If we know that Helen was once a goddess, it is not from the many and admirable early stories concerning her, in which she is consistently human, though of partly divine parentage, but from a few details which have survived concerning her cult. Oineus and Althaia are among the few personages whose names make it really clear that they are "faded" deities, and also what their functions were, the Giver of Wine and the Healer. Of all the cult they must once have had in Kalydon, one faint reflex is to be found in mythology, the story that Althaia was loved by Dionysos and in some sense married to him.⁴⁶ Had this not chanced to survive, we should be left, as we are in the case of Trophonios, with a legend to which names have been affixed at random, or nearly so. The tragic fortunes of Meleagros required a royal lineage for him, and he was somehow connected with Kalydon; therefore he was made the son of an old divine pair whom a process of Euhemerisation before Euhemerus had transmuted into a prehistoric king and queen. If this is the case for Greece, with its old-established native mythology, it is still likelier to be true of Italy, where, as Altheim himself admits, Greek influence is patent in the stories that are told. I see no kind of guarantee that the accounts we have of the doings of Italian gods and goddesses are necessarily connected in any way with their true functions; indeed, we can easily find tales whose origin is nothing better than a false etymology, as that of Vertumnus' wooing of Pomona, in Ovid;⁴⁷ his name being connected with *uertere*, with which it has nothing to do, he must have changed something sometime, and what so

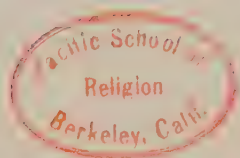
⁴⁶ Hyginus, fab. 129 (notes in the author's forthcoming ed., Sijthoff, Leiden); cf. L'Acropole, 1932, pp. 58-62.

⁴⁷ Ovid, Metam., xiv, 623 ff.

fitting as his own shape, for the purpose of amorous disguise? Others turn on characteristics of the gods in question so thoroughly Greek and so well-known as to remove them altogether from the Italian sphere and leave us with a poet or chronicler telling a Hellenic tale in Latin. Unless, therefore, a story introduces some element not to be paralleled from Greece and consistent with what is known from other sources of the deity it deals with, I cannot accept it as evidence at all, nor make Altheim's assumption that it accords with some native idea.

To return therefore to the title of my paper, I think the Frankfurt school a movement to be welcomed, as likely to broaden the basis and scope of our knowledge; I accept some of its negative and one or two of its positive conclusions;⁴⁸ but at the same time, among the alleys which it explores I believe some to be blind, and see a certain danger that it will waste energy in looking for enlightenment where all experience indicates that none is to be found.

⁴⁸ For instance, I am convinced, although not altogether for Altheim's reasons, that there were foreign, i.e., non-Roman and probably non-Italian elements in the oldest recoverable gods of Roman worship.



A VISION OF MANDULIS AION

ARTHUR DARBY NOCK

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

I. THE TEMPLE AT TALMIS

THE Roman garrison town of Talmis, now called Kalabsha, lies in Nubia a little South of the Lesser Cataracts of the Nile and was the seat of a god called Merul or Melul, a name hellenized as Mandulis. He was worshipped elsewhere in this region, as for instance in a temple of his own at Ajuala and in the temple of Petêsi and Pihor at Dendûr, and again further North at Philae, where a figure of him was in A.D. 394 sculptured on the North wall of the 'Hadrian passage,' but he is at Dendûr described as 'great god, lord of Talmis,' and Talmis was certainly the center of his cult.¹ The first religious edifice known there was built by Amenophis IV,² but Professor Griffith informs me that there is no likelihood that Mandulis was worshipped in it, his name being unknown in Pharaonic Egypt and apparently non-Egyptian. In later times a Ptolemy — the third, fifth, sixth, or ninth — erected a chapel to Mandulis, and then under Augustus³ began the construction of a great temple of which imposing remains survive to this day. Building was completed by the time of Vespasian, but the mural decorations were still unfinished in Antonine times.⁴ Ptolemaic and Roman interest in the temple may have been due to a political purpose, the desire to make it a place at which the

My thanks are due to Professors W. S. Ferguson and F. Ll. Griffith for their kindness in reading a first draft of this paper and for various corrections, to Mr. C. F. Edson for much assistance in its completion, and to Professors Campbell Bonner, R. P. Casey, F. Cumont, W. F. Edgerton, F. N. Robinson, and W. Schubart, and Drs. H. Lewy and W. W. Tarn, for friendly help.

¹ A. M. Blackman, *The Temple of Dendûr*, 80 f. My information on Philae is due to Professor Griffith.

² H. Gauthier, *Le temple de Kalabchah*, I 218 ff.

³ Under him the temple of Petêsi and Pihor was built at Dendûr.

⁴ Gauthier, 69.

nomads would come to worship together with the peaceful subjects of the Empire. In any case, there was no Egyptian settlement at Talmis in Roman times; there are very few Demotic graffiti.⁵ At the end of the third century the town passed out of Roman hands, and in time the temple became a church dedicated to St. Archelaus.⁶

Mandulis was worshipped at Talmis in two forms, as a full grown man and as 'Mandulis the child.' The two shapes actually appear side by side in the reliefs which adorn the cella. He was probably a solar deity, and was commonly associated with Isis, who had a dominant position in this region.⁷ She takes precedence over him, as does also Osiris, in his occasional appearances in the temple reliefs. Other deities figure at times—Buto often, Harendotes, Hathor (both of these with the young Mandulis), Chnum, Satis, Arsenuphis, Min occasionally. There are representations of royal offerings to Isis and Hathor, to Osiris and Isis, and to other deities with whom Mandulis does not appear.⁸

So much we learn from the decorations. To the Graeco-Roman population it was the temple of Mandulis and 'the gods with him.' It attracted considerable attention, being new and magnificent and remote. The soldiers quartered there and men who came from a distance⁹ made numerous acts of veneration, *proskynemata*, on behalf of themselves and of those near and dear to them, sometimes of their horses and commonly of 'who-soever reads this' (that is to say, reads this aloud, as the ancients ordinarily read a book: it is like the good wishes for the reader of an epitaph, who was thought of as thus giving

⁵ F. Ll. Griffith, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XV, 1929, 74. He has now four graffiti from Talmis.

⁶ A. H. Sayce, *Revue des études grecques*, VII, 1894, 294.

⁷ For her association with the sun cf. P. Oxy. 1380. 187 ff. ἡλιον ἀπ' ἀνατολῆς μέχρι δύσεως σὺ ἐπιφέρεις.

⁸ At Debod Mandulis was associated with Geb and Nut; Lanzzone, *Dizionario di mitologia egizia*, 301.

⁹ Gauthier, p. 243 no. 8 ἦλθον καὶ προσεκύνησα; p. 268 no. 1 ἦλθον εἰς Τάλμιν χοιὰς κ' καὶ προσεκύνησα; p. 239 no. 1 (the vision of Maximus discussed later) μακάριον ὅτ' ἔβην ἡρεμίας τόπον ἐσαθρῆσαι; p. 278 no. 23 καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ παρὰ σοῖς προθύροις ἦλθον. Most of these texts are to be found in Fr. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch griechischen Urkunden aus Ägypten*.

to the dead man a momentary animation). Those which are dated range from the time of Vespasian onwards; the last dated inscription (not a *proskynema*) of the Roman occupation belongs to 248/9.¹⁰

II. PILGRIM RECORDS

Greek settlers in Egypt and elsewhere were accustomed to make these records. There are hundreds of graffiti in the ruined shrine of Memnon at Abydos, and of statements by men that they had seen the colossus or the pyramids or the Sphinx or the royal tombs at Thebes. Some of these reflect only the desire to leave one's name and to immortalize the moment, as Greek mercenaries in the sixth century had left their names on the legs of a gigantic statue at Abu-Simbel, and as lovers on Thera recorded on the rocks of the island the attainment of their desires. The art of writing was not then old in Greece, and the instinct for self-dramatization was at least as strong there as in humanity at large. Religious emotion, like other emotion, called for expression, and some inscriptions indicate the pilgrim rather than the tourist. The pious commemoration by a man of himself and of his friends is known at Syra and at Grammata in Epirus and elsewhere,¹¹ but in far greater measure in Egypt and Syria. Here it is in the main to be regarded as a habit due to the incoming of Greeks and Romans into a strange and impressive atmosphere; the ruins in particular invited scribbling, and a scribble cost less in trouble and expense than a stele. In earlier times we have countless memorial stones for the dead at Abydos and Busiris, bringing their names before the attention of the gods and recording supposed

¹⁰ Gauthier, 268 f. no. 1; 193 f.

¹¹ C. I. L. III 583; C. I. G. 1824-7; at Sunium (B. Snell, *Ath. Mitt.*, LI, 1926, 159 ff., citing parallels from Attica and from Acrocorinthus); in the Petraean valley (M. Rostovtzeff, *Caravan Cities*, 139). Plutarch *De curiositate*, 11, p. 529 D, mentions the habit of writing on walls. 'So and so remembered so and so with good intent.' 'So and so is the best of friends,' and the like. Cf. Friedländer-Wissowa, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, 10th ed., I 443; and, on the general character of the graffiti at Thebes, J. Baillet, *C. R. Ac. Inscr.*, 1920, 107 ff. and *Inscriptions grecques et latines des tombeaux des Rois ou Syringes à Thèbes*, fasc. IV [Mém. inst. fr. arch. Or. XLII].

'royal offerings' for their welfare.¹² Many of these stelae begin "Adoration to Osiris, homage to Isis." So prayer and praise were made for the dead by others, and this is perhaps the antecedent of the later form of *proskynema* made by one man for others living. In general the religion of the dead came first in Egypt; statues were dedicated in temples in order that those represented might enjoy offerings and, in addition, a certain continued existence in a holy place,

And feel the steady candle-flame and taste
Good strong, thick, stupefying incense-smoke.

Nevertheless, Egyptian model letters include pious aspirations for the benefit of the recipient like those which we find in Greek papyrus letters,¹³ and *proskynemata* in temples for other living persons may later be discovered from the period of Egyptian independence. In any case, although private offerings were not nearly so common then as afterwards, and although religion was then in a high degree the affair of the king and of his deputies, who (like Ichnofret) set their memorials in the temples, there are nevertheless sporadic and striking instances of the desire of humbler individuals to leave some reminder of themselves before men and before gods, and to show personal religious devotion. Certain stelae from the Theban necropolis record men's piety and penitence.¹⁴ In the Ramesseum there are graffiti by natives, though here it must be remembered that the building fell into disrepair in the twenty-second dynasty and was adopted as a cemetery by certain families of Theban priests related to the royal house.¹⁵ But as early as the twelfth

¹² J. Baillet, *La régime pharaonique dans ses rapports avec l'évolution de la morale en Égypte*, 368.

¹³ So in a letter of the time of Meneptah quoted by J. Černý, *Bull. inst. fr. arch. Or.*, XXVII, 1927, 164 f. "Je dis à Amon, Mout, et Khons, à l'esprit dans le cèdre, amour de Thèbes, sur la route de la Cime, à Amenophis de la Cour, à Amenophis, favori de Hathor de Persea, à Amon d'Opet, aux huit babouins qui sont dans la cour de Hathor, résidant à Thèbes, à la Grande porte de Beki, à tous les dieux et déesses de la Ville, que tu sois sain, que tu vives, que je te voie sain et que je t'embrasse, pendant que tu es dans la faveur des dieux et des hommes. Que ta santé soit belle dans la maison d'Amonre, roi des dieux." Other examples in A. Erman, *Literatur der Ägypter*, 252 ff.

¹⁴ Erman, *Sitzungsberichte*, Berlin, 1911, 1086 ff.; G. Roeder, *Urkunden zur Religion des alten Ägypten*, 57 ff.

¹⁵ Quibell-Spiegelberg, *The Ramesseum* (Egyptian Research Account, 1896), 9.

dynasty the Egyptians who went to the mines at Sinai put up elaborate votive inscriptions recording that they owed their success to divine favors,¹⁶ and in the Middle Kingdom those who quarried at Hatnub put up statements of their sacrifices accompanied by representations of themselves: the style is based on that of grave stones and includes the funerary habit of claiming virtues, and once a pair of eyes is chiselled in the wall as on tombs. There are representations of potentates who did not actually visit the mines, and a graffito for one. These Hatnub records are not exvotos; like the epitaphs which they resemble, they are directed to posterity, and one includes a promise of a safe return to whoever reads the text.¹⁷ In Ptolemaic and Roman times we have numerous votive graffiti and other inscriptions in Demotic which resemble closely the familiar Greek stelae.¹⁸ The wide extension of this usage among natives is perhaps due to a heightening of individualism; the nominal Pharaoh, whether Ptolemaic or Roman, was an alien ruler enthroned in an alien city, and religious practices, for the Egyptian as for the Jew, were a symbol of national and local feeling. At Philae these graffiti continue into the fifth century A.D.; one text tells how an official of the Ethiopian king Taqreramane, of the time of Trebonianus Gallus, composed his hymn of praise to Isis; she had heard his prayer and brought him and his companions safe and sound to Egypt.¹⁹ In the Semitic area

¹⁶ R. Weill, *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes du Sinai*; V. Loret, *Kemi*, I, 1928, 99 ff.; Blackman, *Bull. inst. fr. arch. Or.*, XXX, 1930, 97 ff. The language of these texts is very constant in character, and clearly there was something of a convention, as in the records made at Kertassi of thanks after each successful transportation of stones. I follow L. Deubner's interpretation, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XVI, 1913, 501 ff. of the texts edited by F. Zucker, in Roeder, *Dedod bis Bab Kalabsche* [Temples immergés de la Nubie].

¹⁷ *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub nach den Aufnahmen Georg Möllers* herausgegeben und bearbeitet von Rudolph Anthes (K. Sethe, *Unt. z. Gesch. u. Altertumskunde Ägyptens*, IX, 1928); similar records in J. Couyat-P. Montet, *Hammâmât-Ouâdi* (*Mém. inst. fr. d'arch. orient.*, XXXIV, 1912) of people who came to get stones.

¹⁸ E.g. those at Medinet Habu, discussed by W. F. Edgerton, *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Jan. 1934 (available to me in advance by the author's kindness). For Demotic graffiti in the crypt of the Osiris temple at Karnak, cf. W. Spiegelberg, *Ann. serv. ant.*, III, 1902, 89 ff. (late Ptolemaic). Coptic Christianity continued the custom.

¹⁹ Cf. H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum*, V, 1002 ff., 1014 ff.

the desire for self-record was strong, as we see it in Job's desire (xix. 23-24) that his words might be graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever; votive inscriptions by commoners are not frequent, but we have some from South Arabia,²⁰ and at Carthage there are many records from individuals of their sacrifices to Tanit.²¹

The visiting of holy places in ancient Egypt was associated with the great festivals to which men came from far and near, just as in Syria and Mesopotamia. To the newcomers these holy places were all interesting, and in the mixed culture which followed upon intermarriage the pilgrimage habit became a typical form of piety. One of the inscriptions in this temple at Talmis gives a series of maxims from a man called Sansnos; "Revere the divine. Sacrifice to all the gods. Travel in homage to each temple. Believe above all in your ancestral gods and revere Isis and Sarapis, the greatest of the gods, saviors, good, kindly, benefactors."²² The custom was observed faithfully by men with Egyptian names. Thus the temple at Ajuala, probably dedicated to Mandulis, has on one block of stone the *proskynema* of Amatisis Nentiris, a priest.²³

Talmis has many *proskynemata* directed to Mandulis, sometimes coupled with the deities associated with him in the temple; none of them distinguish the younger and the older Mandulis. Now there is a very notable fact about these acts of devotion. They are all painted in red letters on the outer façade of the pronaos, in the porticoes on the North, South, and East of the court, and in the pylon. There are naturally none in the cella, for this was a temple in actual use and the priests alone would penetrate to the cella. Short *proskynemata* were commonly inscribed on the stones of temples in use as well as of ruins,²⁴ but may it not be that a special authorization

²⁰ Nielsen, *Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde*, I 230; for graffiti on Sinai, dated 147-253 A.D., cf. B. Moritz, *Abh. Göttingen*, XVI ii, 1916.

²¹ K. Preisendanz, *Pauly-Wissowa*, IV A 2186 ff.

²² Mitteis-Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, I ii 147 no. 116.

²³ Blackman, *Dendûr*, 65.

²⁴ So for instance at Philae; G. Deville, *Arch. Miss. scient.* 2nd Ser., II, 1865, 457 ff. Cf. Mitteis-Wilcken, I ii 147 f. no. 117 (second century, A.D.), and W. Crönert's discussion in *Raccolta di scritti in onore di Giacomo Lumbroso*, 481 ff.; J. Keil and A. Wilhelm, *Monumenta Asiae minoris antiqua*, III 42 f.

was necessary for these inscriptions? Even the Roman financial authority paid some heed to the making of votive offerings.²⁵ Perhaps the right to make any such record was accorded in return for some donation, just as the right to portraiture in the temple of the Palmyrene gods at Doura belonged to benefactors.

The South portico contains a group of inscriptions which are of particular interest and importance. They give expression to personal devotion and to the desire to make some special glorification of the god. One is the hymn of Maximus the decurion, written in Sotadeans which pass into hexameters and pentameters and contain the writer's name in an acrostic.²⁶ Maximus speaks of his desire to visit the blessed place of loneliness (*μακάριον ὅτ' ἔβην ἡρεμίας τόπον ἐσαθρῆσαι*), a phrase which is noteworthy because it reveals that fascination by loneliness which we find elsewhere attested for Egypt. Apart from Philo's account of his own practice and of the Therapeutae, and Chaeremon's description of the life of the Egyptian priests, there is Plutarch's story of the hermit who lived on the shore of the Red Sea, holding Pythagorean or Platonic doctrines. He met men once a year but consorted otherwise only with wandering nymphs and daemones. He was very beautiful, and free from all disease. Once a month he ate a bitter medicated kind of herb. He knew many languages, but to the informant he spoke Doric for the most part, in a manner approximating to poetry, and when he spoke there was a fragrance in the place. He devoted himself to various sciences, being inspired for one day a year to practise the prophetic art.²⁷ This is of course an imaginative picture, but it has much in common with the texts at Talmis. The idea that solitude was desired by philosophers appears in Porphyry and elsewhere.²⁸ The earlier dissemination

²⁵ Gnomon of the Idios Logos, § 97 l. 216 (P. M. Meyer, *Juristische Papyri*, 339): for official interest in Talmis, cf. Mitteis-Wilcken, I ii 102 no. 73.

²⁶ Re-edited by G. Manteuffel, *Eos* XXXI, 1928, 181 ff. and in his *De opusculis graecis Aegypti e papyris ostracis lapidibusque collectis* (*Travaux de la Société des sciences et des lettres de Varsovie*, XII, 1930), 198 f.

²⁷ *De defectu oraculorum*, 21 p. 421 f.

²⁸ Porphyry, *De abstinencia*, I 36 speaks of Pythagoreans and others *ὡν οἱ μὲν τὰ ἐρημύτατα χωρία κατέκουν*; Epist. Hippocrat. 12. 1 of Heraclitus as *ἰδιόζοντος πάμπολλα ἐν ἀντροῖσι καὶ ἐρημίῃσι*. Dio of Prusa devotes oration XX to an attack on the idea that retreat is necessary for serious study. Euseb. *Hist. eccl.*, VI 9. 6 implies that philo-

of such feelings helps us to understand the group of latter-day pagans who gathered around Antoninus in the Delta,²⁹ and the rise of Christian monasticism. The Graeco-Egyptian was drawn to Alexandria, but he was also repelled, and even men who were moved neither by the Pythagorean belief in the value of silence nor by any Christian revulsion from the world felt at times a certain wish for retreat and seclusion.

We must dwell a little longer on the hymn of Maximus, because it makes explicit much which is of importance for the understanding both of the text which is the special object of this study and of the world of thought and feeling to which it belongs. Maximus came to this blessed place of quiet with a clear conscience, free from all guilt, and was seized with an inspiration to compose. He fell asleep and dreamed that he was washing in the waters of Nile and that Calliope was singing among the Muses. Then the real impulse to write in Greek free from barbarism came to him from Mandulis, who strode forth from Olympus on the right of Isis.³⁰ His praises follow, in a semicreedal style; it is told how day and night and the hours worship him.

On the same wall, but not immediately beside this, is inscribed the text which follows on p. 61, and above one of the doors another telling of the anonymous writer's visit, "Having beheld where thou wast, having duly adored thy godhead." He then prays that he, his wife, and his children may be delivered, and promises to tell of the god's story.³¹ Similar prayer concludes another hymn found on the East wall of the court; the petition is that Herodes may reach his homeland again.³² This text is very fragmentary, but so far as we can judge may well have identified Mandulis with both Apollo and Horus. In the

sophic life and retirement went together: cf. Justin Martyr's story in his Dialogue of how he entered into solitude in the hope of seeing God. For *ἡρεμία*, cf. Chaeremon ap. Porphyry *De abstinencia*, IV 6 *ἡρεμαλούς δὲ εἶναι*, of Egyptian priests, and Athanasius, *Vita Antonii*, 49 (XXXVI 913 C Migne) *εἰ δὲ θέλεις ὄντως ἡρεμεῖν*.

²⁹ Eunapius, *Vita Aedesii*, p. 41 ed. Boissonade (1822).

³⁰ The position of honor from a Greek's standpoint (R. Wünsch, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, VII, 1904, 99).

³¹ H. Gauthier, *Ann. serv. ant. Ég.* X, 1910, 76 ff., 125 ff.

³² Ib. 83 *Ἡρώδην παλιννοστον (?) σὴν ἐς πατρίδα ἰκέσθαι*, where *σὴν* must be an error for *ἐὲν*.

court is another brief invocation of Pythian Apollo, meaning no doubt Mandulis, and a Latin hymn to Apollo, which again gives the writer's name in an acrostic.³³

The form of most of these is conventional; they are *tours de force*, like the records which people made of having heard the response of the Memnon's colossus to the first rays of the rising sun, or of visits to Philae. The Muses appear, as of old to Hesiod and Callimachus; there are Homeric commonplaces as well as the new technique of the acrostic. From the point of view of religious history we learn only that Mandulis was equated with Apollo, that he was closely associated with Isis, that purity of conscience was regarded as a preliminary to inspiration, and that here as elsewhere the recording of an experience was regarded as an act of piety. To be able to do so in a difficult style was moreover a mark of divine help. Synesius in his work on Dreams (3) says that unlettered men may fall asleep, meet the Muses, question them and receive answers and become cunning bards. This, he states, has happened in his own time and does not to him seem surprising.³⁴

III. THE VISION

We come now to our text.³⁵ I give it first as it appears on the stone, making no attempt to reproduce letter shapes.

AKTINOBOΛEΔEΣΠOTA
MANΔOYAITITANMAKAPET
ΣHMIAZOY TINA ΛAMΠPAΘEAMENOS
EΠENOHΣAKAIEΠOΛTTPAΓMOΣAΑΣΦAΛΩΣ

³³ Ib. 89 and Temple 278 no. 23; Buecheler Carm. Lat. epigr. 271.

³⁴ Professor F. N. Robinson draws my attention to the parallel of Caedmon, in Bede's History, IV 23 f., to its repetition in connection with the Old Saxon Heliand; the story of Aeschylus in Pausanias, I 21. 2. Julian Ep. 89 p. 302 A (p. 142 Bidez-Cumont) says that most hymns were given by the gods in answer to prayer, and a few composed by men under divine inspiration: in Corpus Hermeticum, XIII 18, we have ὁ σὸς λόγος δι' ἐμοῦ ὑμνεῖ σε. For parallels in Christian monasticism cf. R. Reitzenstein, Historia Monachorum und Historia Lausiaca, 135 ff.

³⁵ First copied by Lepsius, Denkmäler, Abt. VI Taf. 97, nos. 451 (1-14), 455 (15-21); 463 (6-13), then by Gauthier, who first recognized that the three texts of Lepsius belonged together (Ann., X, 1910, 87, and Temple, 241 IV). Since the time of Lepsius some letters which he read have become illegible. Puchstein's emendations are from his Epigrammata, 71 ff. Preisigke includes the text in Sammelbuch, no. 4127.

- 5 ΙΔΕΝΑΙΘΕΛΩΝΕΙΣΤΙΟΗΛΙΟΣ·ΑΛΟΤΡΙΟΝ
ΕΜΑΤΤΟΝΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΜΗΝΠΑΣΗΣΚΑΚΕΙΑΣ
ΚΑΙΠΑΣΗΣ . . . ΟΤΟΣΚΑΙΓΝΕΤΣΑΣΕΣΠΟΛΤΝ
ΧΡΟΝΟΝ ΤΙΘΕΙΑΣΕΤΣΕΒΙΑΣΙΝΕΚ
ΕΠΕ ΚΑΙΕΝΘΕΑΣΑΜΕΝΟΣΑΝΕ
- 10 ΝΕΤΩ ΕΔΕΙΞΑΣΜΟΙΣΕΑΤΤΟΝΕΝΤΩ
ΧΡΤΣΩ ΚΑΦΟΣΔΙ . . ΤΕΡΩΝΤΑΤΟΝ
ΟΤΡΑΝΙΩ . . . ΩΛΟΝΚΑΙΣΤΟΠΙ . Α(?) . . ΝΔΕΜΜΑΤΑ
ΚΑΤΑΔΕΙΝΟΝΝΤΚΤΙΔΡΟΜΟΝ . . ΝΙ(?)ΑΑ . ΠΙΑΤΟΝΠΟΙΗΣΑ-
ΜΕΝΟΣ
ΕΝΩΚΑΙΑΓΙΩΤΩΤΗΣΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΑΣΤΔΑΤΙΑΟΤΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ
- 15 ΦΑΙ ΟΝΗΛΘΕΣΚΑΤΑΚΑΙΡΟΝΑΝΑΤΟΛΑΣ
ΠΟΙΟ ΕΙΣΤΟΝΣΟΝΣΗΚΟΝΑΟΑΝΩΤΕΣΩΚΑΙΝΑΩΕΜΠΝ-
ΟΙΑΝ
ΠΑΡΕΧΩΝΚΑΙΔΤΝΑΜΙΝΜΕΓΑΛΗΝΕΝΘΑΣΕΕΓΝΩΝΜΑΝΔΟΤΑΙ
ΗΛΙΟΝΤΟΝΠΑΝΤΕΠΟΙΗΤΗΝΔΕΣΠΟΗΤΗΝΑΠΑΝΤΩΝΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ
ΑΙΩΝΑΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΩΤΩΝΕΤΤΧΕΣΤΑΤΩΝΛΑΩΝΤΩΝΚΑΤΟ-
ΙΚΟΤΝΤΩΝ
- 20 ΗΝΟΗΛΙΟΣΜΑΝΔΟΤΑΙΣΑΓΑΠΑΤΗΝΙΕΡΑΝΤΑΛΜΙΝΗΤΙΣΕΣΤΙ-
ΝΤΠΟ
ΤΑΣΚΑ ΘΕΙΡΑΣΜΤΡΙΩΝΤΜΟΤΙΣΙΔΟΣ.
APP. 4ΚΑΙ ΩΑΙ*Lepsius*.

- 5 Dot slightly above line as mark of punctuation.
- 7 *Lepsius* read ΠΑΣ, gap, ΟΤΟΣ (gap of ca. 5 letters: in his no. 463 ΚΑΙΠΑ ΟΤΟΣ).
- 8 *L.* read ΧΡΟΝ, then gap of ca. 8 letters; Gauthier gives 8 dots in *Annales*, 9 in *Temple*. At end 4 dots in *Ann.*, 3 in *Temple*.
- 9 ΕΠΕ *L.* 451 and *G.*; ΣΠΕ *L.* 463. Gap of ca. 9 letters in *L.*; 8 dots in *Ann.*, 12 in *Temple*.
- 10 Gap of ca. 7 letters in *L.*; 6 dots in *Ann.*, 10 in *Temple*.
- 11 Gap of ca. 6 letters in *L.*; 6 dots in *Ann.*, 8 in *Temple*. Between ΔΙ and Τ, 1 letter in *L.*, as also after Τ.
- 12 So *L.*; Gauthier gives as *L.*'s reading ΟΤΡΑΝΙΩΕΙΑΩΛΟΝ. *L.* has ΣΤΟΠΙ, 3 letters, ΝΔΕΜΜΑΤΑ.
- 13 ΝΤΚΤΙΑΡΟΜΟΝ in *L.*: then 1 letter, then ΝΑΑ and 1 letter. Gauthier as text.
- 15 Gap of ca. 7 letters in *L.*; 7 dots in *Ann.*, 9 in *Temple*.
- 16 Gap of not over 3 or 4 letters in *L.*; 6 dots in *Ann.*, 7 in *Temple*. ΣΟΝ in *L.*: ΕΟΝ Gauthier.
There is a bar over first Α of ΑΟΑΝΩ.
- 21 Gap of 8 letters in *L.*; 9 in *Ann.*, 10 in *Temple*.

The basis for reconstruction is far from ideal: Gauthier's number of dots in each of a number of gaps varies from his first to his second edition of the text, without explanation, and the original squeeze of Lepsius is not extant.³⁶

Some of the gaps in this defy restoration, and not a few of the supplements proposed are purely tentative.

ἀκτινοβόλε δεσπότα, | Μανδοῦλι, Τιτάν, Μακαρεῦ, | σημιᾶ σου τινα
λαμπρὰ θεάμενος | ἐπενόησα καὶ ἐπολυπράγμοσα ἀσφαλῶς |⁵ ἰδέναί
θέλων, εἰ σὺ ἱ (= εἰ) ὁ ἥλιος. ἀλότριον | ἐμαυτὸν ἐποιησάμην πάσης
κακείας | καὶ πάσης [ἀθε]ότος καὶ ἀγνεύσας ἐς πολὺν | χρόνον [τὸ δέον
ἐ]τι θείας εὐσεβίας ἵνεκ[εν] | ἐπεθυσάμην καὶ ἐνθεασάμενος ἀνε[πάην]. |¹⁰
νεύω[ν γὰρ κατ]έδειξάς μοι σεαυτὸν ἐν τῷ | χρυσῷ [.] καφος
δι . . τε ρῶντα τὸν | ουρανίῳ . . . ὦλον καὶ στοπ . . α . . ν δεμματα |
κατὰ δεινὸν νυκτιδρόμον . . να α . πιατον ποιησάμενος, | ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἀγίω
τῷ τῆς ἀθανασίας ὕδατι λουσάμενος |¹⁵ φαί[ν]η δεύτερ[ον]. ἦλθες κατὰ
καιρὸν ἀνατολὰς | ποιο εἰς τὸν σὸν σηκόν, ξοάνῳ τε σῶ καὶ ναῶ
ἐμπνοιαν | παρέχων καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην, ἔνθα σε ἔγνω, Μανδοῦλι, |
ἥλιον τὸν παντεπόπτην δεσπότην, ἀπάντων βασιλέα, | Αἰῶνα παντοκρά-
τορα. ὦ τῶν εὐτυχεστάτων λαῶν τῶν κατοικούντων, |²⁰ ἦν ὁ ἥλιος
Μανδοῦλις ἀγαπᾷ, τὴν ἱερὰν Τάλμιν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὑπὸ | τὰ σκά[πτρα
τῆς εὐε]θείρας μυριωνύμου Ἰσιδος.

- 7 ἀθεότος. Puchstein read ἀθεότητος: the error may be due to the inscriber. Rhetorios in Cumont, *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum*, VIII iv 179. 21 lists together *τολμηροὺς ὤμοις μεταμελητικοὺς ψεύστας κλέπτας ἀθέους ἀφίλους κτλ.* But this may be due to Christian ideas and I am not wholly satisfied with this rather theoretical word.
- 8 I restore *exempli gratia*. The name or some epithet of an incense offering is required. According to Plutarch, *Is. et Os.* 52, p. 372 D ἡμέρας ἐκάστης τριχῶς ἐπιθυμιῶσι τῷ ἡλίῳ, ῥητίνην μὲν ὑπὸ τὰς ἀνατολὰς, σμύρναν δὲ μεσουρανοῦντι, τὸ δὲ καλούμενον κῦφι περὶ δυσμὰς; for its composition cf. 81, p. 383, E: so we should perhaps prefer *κῦφι ἐτι*. Puchstein reads *χρόν[ον θυώματι]*.
- 9 ἐπεθυσάμην Puchstein. I restore *ἀνεπάην*, comparing Corp. Herm., XIII 20, *βουλῇ τῇ σῇ ἀναπέπαυμαι*, IX 10, *ἐν τῇ κάλῃ πίστει ἐπανεπαύσατο*; and the frequent use of this word and its correlatives in Christian literature for "comfort, refreshment." For the form cf. I.G., XIV 158 *ἀναπάη*.
- 11 ff. defy exact restoration. The sense was probably something like Puchstein's *χρυσοδέτῳ σκάφει διαπερῶντα τὸν οὐράνιον πόλον*.
- 13 [Μῆνα?] Puchstein.

³⁶ So Professor W. Schubart informs me.

- 15 Sense demands something like this or *φαιδρύνῃ τοῦτον*; now that ll. 15 ff. are known to be a continuation of 1-14, Puchstein's *φαίδιμε Ἀπολλόν* leaves the *ἐν ᾧ* clause without a main verb, and according to Gauthier's first report there is room for 7 letters at most. For the opening of the sentence with *ἦλθες* cf. Theocrit., XII 1.
- 16 Puchstein *ποιούμενος*, perhaps rightly. I am inclined to suppose that $\bar{\alpha}$ is an error for $\bar{\epsilon}$ and that the true reading is *ξοάνῳ τε σῶ* 'to your cult image'; for *ξόανον* as a technical term in inscriptions and papyri cf. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, III 382 and p. 93 later [Puchstein proposed $\acute{\alpha}(\theta)\acute{\alpha}\nu(a)\tau\epsilon$, *σῶ καὶ ναῶ*].
- 21 Restored by Puchstein, who refers to Kaibel, *Epigrammata graeca* 833. 1 for Isis as *εὐπλόκαμος* and to the plant *Ἴσιδος τρίχες*.

We may now attempt a provisional translation. "O rayshooting lord Mandulis, Titan, Makareus, having beheld some radiant signs of thy power I pondered on them and was busied therewith, wishing to know with confidence whether thou art the sungod. I made myself a stranger to all vice and all godlessness, was chaste for a considerable period, and offered the due incense offering in holy piety. I had a vision and found rest for my soul. For thou didst grant my prayer and show me thyself going through the heavenly vault; then washing thyself in the holy water of immortality thou appearedst again. Thou didst come at due season to thy shrine, making thy rising, and giving to thy image and to thy shrine divine breath and great power. Then I knew thee, Mandulis, to be the Sun, the allseeing master, king of all, allpowerful Eternity. O happy folk, that dwell in the city beloved by the Sun Mandulis, even holy Talmis, which is under the sceptre of fairtressed Isis of the countless names."

This text is in prose, but it is to be noted that it is inscribed in lines of very unequal length, the conclusion of each coinciding with the conclusion of a word.³⁷ At the same time I cannot discern any metrical structure or principle of division into cola in this arrangement, apart from the third line, which consists of four dactyls if, as is likely, *σημῶα* is to be scanned as a dactyl. The rhythm may be accidental, or the phrase may be borrowed from some poetic hymn — or again the writer may have liked

³⁷ The record of the miracle at Panamara in 41/0 B.C. has unequal lines — not as unequal as ours, but like them, so far as we can see, all ending at the end of a word (P. Roussel, *Bull. corr. hell.*, LV, 1931, 82).

the feeling of having secured a verse rhythm. But he is certainly not a self-conscious artist in prose: he had no feeling against hiatus. The arrangement remains odd and puzzling. It cannot be explained, I think, from any desire to produce some artificial shape as a *jeu d'esprit* — such as the Pipe of Theocritus, and the Wings, Altar, and Swallow-egg of other poets (Anth. Pal., XV 24-7).

I may here add a few notes on linguistic points.

- 1 ἀκτινοβόλε. ἀκτινοβολῶ is cited from Philo etc. by Stephanus-Dindorf, Thes., I 1370, and had a technical sense in astrology, 'aspecting from the left.' Of the adjective the only other example known to me is Melito *Περὶ λουτροῦ*, 3, ὥς, ἂν πλησίον ὀφθῇ, δέκα ἀκτινοβόλοις ἀστραπαῖς καταφλέξει τὴν γῆν (E. J. Goodspeed, *Die ältesten Apologeten*, 311): but it occurs as the name of a horse on a curse-tablet from Berytus, (2nd-3rd cent. A.D.), published by P. Mouterde, *Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph, Beyrouth*, XV (1930), 106 ff.; other horses there mentioned have solar names, e.g. Ἀήτητος, Ἀνατολικός (cf. ib. p. 119).

- 2 Τιτάν. Poetic commonplace; cf. p. 102 later and note the mock-heroic use by Colotes in Usener, *Epicurea*, 145, note on l. 5 ἡ πάρει, Τιτάν, τὰ σκότη πάντα ἐκδηλῶν;

Μακαρεῦ. Helios has in mythology a son called Makar or Makareus (Schirmer in Roscher, *Lex.* II 2288 ff.); but I suspect that μακαρεῦ is here used as a supposed recondite equivalent for μάκαρ. There is no certain example of this epithet, but we should perhaps restore μακαρ[εῦ αἰ]ώνιε in Preisendanz, *P(apyri) gr(aecae) mag(icae)*, III 234.

- 3 σημῖα. σημεῖον has a variety of meanings in connection with deities: (1) attribute.

So in Dio Prus., XXXVI 43 of the distinguishing marks of the sun's four horses. J. A. Cramer, *Anecdota Parisina*, III 103 ff. prints a note (of Tzetzēs?), *Περὶ τῶν σημείων Ἡλίου καὶ Θαλάσσης*. Here σημεῖον is almost 'characteristic.' Similar works on the σημεῖα of the other gods follow.

(2) More cryptic distinguishing marks of deities, as *P. gr. mag.*, III 499 (cf. 624), addressed to the sun, οἰδὰ σου τὰ σημεία καὶ τὰ παράσημα καὶ μορφὰς καὶ καθ' ὥραν τίς ἐστὶ καὶ τί σου ὄνομα; the list which follows gives the shape, tree, stone, bird, and the mystic name of the sun in each hour. The list differs in order from that in IV 1636 ff. These σημεῖα correspond to the σύμβολα claimed by the magician in IV 2290 ff. when he is acting an imaginary divine rôle e.g. ἀκουσον . . . τοῦτο γάρ σου σύμβολον. τὸ σάνδαλόν σου ἐκρυσά καὶ κλεῖδα κρατῶ. Cf. Hopfner, *Pauly-Wissowa*, XIII 752 ff. and *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, I 99 § 401. σύνθημα is used in an oracle in Porphyry, *De philosophia ex oraculis haurienda*, p. 151, ed. Wolff, of symbolic attributes.

(3) Miracle, as commonly in N.T.; sign vouchsafed in the course of a prayer, as P. gr. mag., I 64 ἔσται δέ σοι διώκοντι τὸν λόγον σημεῖον τὸδε; IV 2940 σημεῖον ὅτι ἐκρούσθη.

(4) Supernatural sign indicating the state of affairs; e.g. Cassius Dio, passim; Suidas s.v. 'Ηράϊσκος; cf. Lydus De Ostentis, proem p. 3, Wachsmuth.

The range of meaning is wide, arising out of the general sense, 'indication pointing to a fact or a person'; thus in Egyptian documents σημεῖον is used of 'distinguishing marks' enabling one to recognize a man; (F. J. Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, II, 1930, 287). The sense here is probably general, 'indications.' Cf. above all Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio catechetica*, I 11 (XLV 16 Migne) οὕτως καὶ ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος τῷ μὲν ὑφ'εστάναι καθ' ἑαυτὸν διήρηται πρὸς ἐκείνον, παρ' οὗ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχει. τῷ δὲ ταῦτα (? l. ταῦτὰ) δεικνύειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ, ἃ περὶ τὸν θεὸν καθορᾶται, ὁ αὐτὸς ἐστι κατὰ τὴν φύσιν ἐκείνῳ τῷ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν γνωρισμάτων εὐρισκομένῳ· εἴτε γὰρ ἀγαθότης, εἴτε δύναμις, εἴτε σοφία, εἴτε τὸ αἰδίως εἶναι, εἴτε τὸ κακίας καὶ θανάτου καὶ φθορᾶς ἀνεπίδεκτον, εἴτε τὸ ἐν παντὶ τέλειον, εἴτε τι τοιοῦτον ὅλως σημεῖόν τις ποιοῖτο τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς καταλήψεως, διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν εὐρήσει σημεῖων καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου ὑφ'εστῶτα λόγον.

- 3 θεάμενος for θεασάμενος. Here, as in ἀθέωτος (7), if that be correct, a syllable has been swallowed up in pronunciation or in writing; for analogies, cf. L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 9 f.
- 4 ἐπολυπράγμοσα. For this form I can give no parallel: but it is to be noted that popular Greek made new formations freely, e.g. in -ίζω (L. Radermacher, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik*, ed. 2, 36 f.).
- 8 θέας εὐσεβείας. This is a peculiar phrase, for θεῖος is properly applicable to that which belongs to the gods or partakes of their qualities; so even in Chaeremon ap. Porphy. De abstinence, IV 6, τῇ θεῖᾳ γνώσει καὶ ἐπιπνοίᾳ and P. gr. mag., XV 3 θεῖον ἔρωτα, which is like Aeneid, VIII 373 'dictis diuinum adspirat amorem.' The nearest analogy which I can find is [Apul.] Asclepius, 11 p. 47. 22 Thomas, 'si foret diuinae pietati conplacitum,' but that means "the gods in their pious wisdom."
- 9 ἐνθεασάμενος. The verb appears to be found only here; it suggests a concentrated vision; cf. Porphy. Ad Marcellam, 13 τῆς ἐκείνου (sc. τοῦ θεοῦ) ἐνοράσεως. Easy as it is to supply an object, there is something deliberately mysterious about its omission, comparable with the use of γνώσις without a dependent genitive.
- 10 νεύων. Cf. the hymn to Artemis in P. gr. mag., IV 2248 νεύσον μάκαιρα, πρὶν στύγνῃν σε καταλάβω, and 945, 2330. There may be some thought, whether conscious or not, of the way in which the images of Egyptian gods were thought to give oracles by nodding, on which see p. 68 later. ἡδὴ ἐπίνευσον occurs in another of the inscriptions in our temple; (Gauthier, *Ann. Serv.*, X 77).
χρυσ . . . Gold is common in epithets of the sun; cf. P. gr. mag., II 90 ff., III 134, IV 458, 460; χρυσοχέλ [sic] in another inscription in this temple (*Ann. Serv.*, X 89, no. V); χρυσόκομ' "Ἀπολ[λον], in an

- inscription of ca. 500 B.C. in a temple of Apollo at Zoster in Attica (K. Kuruniotes, *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*, XI, 1927-8, 38), etc.
- 16 *σηκόν*. Properly the adyton, or holy of holies.
- 18 *παντεπόπτην*. *πανόπτης* is an old epithet of the sun. For this form cf. Schol. in Arist. Ach., 435.
- 19 *λαῶν* might be thought a literary word, but is common in the papyri; cf. Moulton-Milligan, *Vocabulary of the New Testament*, 370 f.
- 20 *ἀγαπᾷ*. Cf. Dion of Prusa, XXXIII 21, *ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον πόλεων ἐκέκνην* (s.c. *τὴν Τροίαν*) *ἔφη μάλιστα ἀγαπήσai*; E. Stauffer in G. Kittel, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, I 36, 39 n. 94.
- 21 *μυριωνύμου*. This is well known as a standard epithet of Isis; cf. a mummy amulet published by Preisendanz, *Études de papyrologie*, I, 1932, 19 ff. l. 13, *είσορῶντες τὰ χρόνια τῆς κυρίας μυριωνύμου θεᾶς* [*Ἰσιδος τιμωρήματα*]. Her special association with the sungod at Talmis has been noted earlier; cf. also W. Peek, *Der Isishymnos von Andros und verwandte Texte*, p. 21 l. 137, *ἀμφιπολεύω Ἀελίῳ βασιλῆιον ἐρῶι σὺν λαμπρῷ ὁμαίμῳ, καὶ με καλεῦσι πάρεδρον*, with Peek's note, p. 64.

IV. THE QUEST OF VISIONS

We have here the record of an experience, set up by its recipient. Unlike most of the accompanying texts this is without name, and there is nothing to suggest that anything has been lost at the beginning or the end. Such statements are addressed to the deities. This point is perhaps illustrated by a curious peculiarity of many of the signed texts; they commonly say to-day, *σήμερον*, instead of giving a date.³⁸ This is to our great loss, for as to the date of this text we can say no more than that it is not later than the latter part of the third century of our era. But it suggests the significance which these dedications had for those who made them. *σήμερον* here, as in the phrase from a mystery discussed later (p. 91), reminds us that for those concerned the moment was of supreme importance. It reminds us also that such a dedication was a religious action, just as a hymn or a religious book could be regarded as a votive offering giving pleasure to a deity.³⁹ The ordinary exvotos in

³⁸ Very few graffiti in the Memnonion at Abydos are dated (Perdrizet-Lefebvre, *Les graffiti grecs du Memnonion*, viii); few, again, in the royal graves at Thebes.

³⁹ For hymns, cf. Terpanther fr. 1, and the dedication of the paeon of Aristonoos to Apollo (H. W. Smyth, *Greek Melic Poets*, 527); for a religious work cf. P. Oxy. 1381. 151 ff., 168 (in Manteuffel, *Opusc.*, 89 f. This work, supposedly a hellenization of the book of Menecheres on Imuthes, was finished according to the god's favor and not

the Greek Orthodox Church to-day do not bear names, any more than many cheap votive offerings in antiquity.⁴⁰ The attitude appears clearly in the inscription on a votive cross *Whose name thou knowest*, οὗ γινώσκεις τὸ ὄνομα.⁴¹ We shall see other points of contact with the Poimandres; here we may remark that that treatise has neither author's name nor pseud-epigraphic attribution.⁴² Any such record served a purpose of edification to one that should read, as the Arabian Nights would say, but it did not minister to the ordinary ancient desire to immortalize one's own name.

Men have always sought to find in this or that way the answer to the questions before which their industry and intelligence failed. In practical matters this was as common in ancient Egypt as elsewhere. On legal and other questions in the Later Empire an appeal was regularly made to the cult images of deities, as for instance to Amon of Pe-Khenty. The image nodded and showed emotion; verbal commands were also heard, doubtless through priests who acted as mediums.⁴³ In Ptolemaic and Roman times these customs continued, and we have a multitude of papyrus instances of the questions, which are normally like ours introduced by εἰ: "shall I marry . . .," "is it granted to me to . . ." ⁴⁴ The questions were written

with the writer's wisdom); for literary works in general, Crusius, ed. mai., (2nd ed.), of Herondas, vii f.

⁴⁰ These were often dated in fact by being entered in the year books of the priests, as Professor Ferguson reminds me.

⁴¹ Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, III 96; H. Leclercq, *Dict. arch. chrét.*, III 3184 ff., s.v. *Cuius nomen Deus scit*. In modern Syria Mohammedans, after sacrificing at the shrines of saints, leave the imprint of their hands in blood on the door and its posts as a sort of visiting card (Fr. Schwally, *Arch. f. Rel.*, VIII, 1905, 89), just as visitors to Medinet Habu and Philae sometimes scratched their names, but sometimes their feet instead, on wall or roof (W. F. Edgerton, *Am. Journ. Sem. Lang.*, Jan. 1934).

⁴² R. Reitzenstein, *Historia Monachorum*, 9 points out that *Historia Monachorum* and *Historia Lausiaca* were both anonymous, and that theoretically the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius was probably so likewise; the author's identity being indirectly revealed at the end.

⁴³ A. M. Blackman, *Journ. Egypt. Arch.*, XI, 1925, 249 ff.; XII, 176 ff., Hoffman-Gressmann, *Zeit. alt. Wiss.*, XL, 1922, 110 ff.

⁴⁴ Plut. *De E apud Delphos* 5, p. 386 B, c.; Mitteis-Wilcken, I i, 125; I ii, 149 f. nos. 121 f.; for the technique, cf. W. Schubart, *Zeit. f. ägyptische Sprache*, LXVII, 1931, 110 ff. In one of the texts at Talmis (Gauthier, *Temple*, 283 no. 35, N. section of E. portico) Mandulis is described as θεὸν Μανδοῦλιν Ἀπόλωνα νεύηκον χρησμοδότην. In

out on sheets of papyrus and handed in for solution, as at the oracle of Bes at Abydos. Sometimes an omen was taken from children playing with astragaloi, and dream revelations were very common, as were interpreters official and unofficial. This was an important aspect of Graeco-Egyptian worship.

The questions thus asked were of a practical and matter-of-fact kind. A text inscribed at Elephantine in Ptolemaic times tells how king Zoser wished to know the source of the Nile and the name of the god to whom sacrifice was there offered. But he consults Imhotep (who here appears in his character as a historical personage), and Chnum's coming to the king in a dream, saying, 'I am Chnum who made thee' is something additional and of divine favor: Zoser had not consulted him.⁴⁵ Revelations were sought of the true name of a deity, but that was for reasons of magical utility, such as induced Isis to force this information out of Ra.⁴⁶ The desire can of course be generalized, as in the title of Book of the Dead 17 in the version of the New Kingdom "to know what Thot knows by way of spells for deliverance, to be acquainted with every sanctuary, to be glorified in the hereafter."⁴⁷

The question here put is framed from the point of view of a stranger, who does not know exactly what divine reality is veiled under the alien name and the alien cult. For him Mandulis is one of the agnostoi theoi in the matter of fact sense of deities who happen not to be precisely identified, and not in the sense of the un-Greek agnostos theos, who is essentially unknowable.⁴⁸ The uncertainty is one which could be faced by intellectual enquiry, such as we find in Plutarch's works, where there are many such riddles considered, and knowledge, while it is one of the objects of prayer (Isis and Osiris, 1), is sought in a natural way; Plutarch looked for points of similarity in

the temple of Pnepheros and Petesuchos at Karanis oracular responses may have been given by the high priest from within the great altar [E. E. Peterson in A. E. R. Boak-Peterson, Karanis, 1924-31, 53 f.].

⁴⁵ Roeder, Urkunden, 177 ff.

⁴⁶ Roeder in Roscher, Lex., IV 1178.

⁴⁷ H. Kees, Totenglaube und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter, 324.

⁴⁸ Cf. R. Bultmann in G. Kittel, Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, I 120 ff., 688 ff.

myth and cult and cult-image with known Greek gods. Or again, as here, revelation might be sought.

In the line of Greek tradition it was not unthinkable that an oracle should be consulted on such a matter. Delphi had been approached to settle the problem whether Lycurgus should be honored as a hero or as a god; Alexander had sent to Ammon to learn as much about Hephaestion; the men of Miletus and Erythrae asked Apollo of Didyma for confirmation of the divine sonship of Alexander himself. Apollophanes the Arcadian is said to have asked the Delphic oracle whether Asclepius was the son of Arsinoe, and therefore Messenian, or of Coronis.⁴⁹ In the second century of our era it would appear that Apollo of Claros was asked, 'Who is Iao?' and men at least played with the idea of asking the oracles about ultimate problems of religion and morality.⁵⁰

A god with an oracle, above all a new god, could be asked about himself. The god Glycon, established by Alexander at Abonutichus, was asked who he was and replied, 'A new Asclepius': 'Different from the old one? What do you mean?' 'That it is not permitted to you to hear.'⁵¹ Macrobius tells how Sarapis was asked by Nicocreon, a Cyprian king, which of the gods he was, and replied, that his head was the firmament, his belly the sea, his feet the earth, his ears in the ether, and his eye the sun.⁵² This is probably a later figment; the association of Sarapis with Helios is not known till much later, his original functions being those of Hades, and this picture of the god whose body is the universe represents the intrusion of later reflection. But if this is so, it is significant that the story could be told.

Again, a god could be asked for a special revelation. Pseudo-Callisthenes I 33 relates how Alexander sought for the Sarapeion as a result of an oracle of Ammon. Seeing the obelisks he asked whose they were and was told, Of king Sesonchosis. Then he looked at the god and said, 'O greatest Sarapis, if thou

⁴⁹ Pausanias, II 26, 6.

⁵⁰ Nock, *Rev. et anc.*, XXX, 1928, 280 ff.

⁵¹ Lucian, *Alexander*, 43.

⁵² *Sat.*, I 20. 16.

art god of the universe, make it clear to me.' The answer was vouchsafed in a dream, in the course of which Alexander further asked if his city would preserve his name, and was reassured.

A similar motif appears in Alexandrian poetry. At the beginning of Greek literary history Hesiod's story of the birth of the gods was set forth as the result of an unsought vision of the Muses. But, when we pass to Propertius, we find Vertumnus setting forth his attributes, like Isis in her Praises (known from various inscriptional copies), and in Ovid's *Fasti* Janus and others appear to the poet when he is puzzled. The form may go back to Alexandrian models, possibly to Callimachus. In what we have of him the indications are scanty, but in any case he too introduces the gods as telling their story at length.⁵³

In all this there is a strong element of convention, but there is also a certain relation to actual practice. The ancients did not merely regard the dreams which came spontaneously as significant and worthy of interpretation, but they also sought dreams which might give light and leading. The Pythagoreans heard in the evening music suitable to the reception of mantic dreams.⁵⁴ Further the exegesis of dreams did not depend wholly on the empirical pseudoscience which built itself around them. Artemidorus IV 80 quotes from Menecrates the grammarian the tale of a man who had a dream which none of the experts in Alexandria could interpret. So he prayed to Sarapis to solve the riddle, and in a dream Sarapis appeared and gave the answer. The best parallel to our text is afforded by Marinus, *Life of Proclus* 32 p. 25 Boissonade. There was at Adrotta a shrine the divine occupant of which was uncertain. Some of the inhabitants thought that it was Asclepius, for the place had a table and another feature appropriate to the god, and oracles were vouchsafed which sometimes gave health, and those who came to it were saved from the greatest dangers. Others as-

⁵³ R. Heinze, *Ovids elegische Erzählung* (Ber. sächs. Akad. phil.-hist. Kl., LXXI, 1919, vii), 96 f. The call of Callimachus to poetry was probably not represented as given in a dream: E. Reitzenstein, *Festschrift für R. Reitzenstein*, 52 ff. On such epiphanies cf. Pfister, *P. W. Suppl.*, IV 277 ff. According to a tradition in O. Kern, *Orphicorum fragmenta* 145, no. 62 Orpheus prayed to Phoebus Titan Apollo that he might learn the birth of the gods and the making of the universe and received repeated revelations.

⁵⁴ Cf. G. Méautis, *Recherches sur le Pythagorisme*, 30 ff.

signed the shrine to the Dioscuri, for two young horsemen had been seen on the road to Adrotta. As Proclus was uncertain and was praying to the local deities to learn what god or gods visited the temple and received honors in it, the god appeared to him and said that the two figures were Machaon and Podalirius. The god actually quoted Iamblichus. There are other stories which help us to understand how concrete was this faith in the possibility of firsthand information from supernatural personages. Philostratus tells how Apollonius of Tyana had converse with Achilles and asked him many things (IV 15 f.), and in his *Heroicus* describes the constant dealings of a vine-tender with the hero Protesilaus.⁵⁵ At the end of paganism we have the story of Paralios in the life of Severus by Zacharias the scholastic. Paralios offered to the demon the usual sacrifices and begged him to indicate by an oracle whether it was he or his enemy who was a magician, and whether such an oracle had been given about him also. He was prepared to sacrifice if assured on this point, but although he proffered the request for many days it was in vain.⁵⁶ This is a Christian story told for edification, but it implies that such questions could be asked.

We have therefore plenty of illustration for the desire to be informed of something by a vision. It should further be remarked that visions bulked particularly large in the religious life of Egypt under the Roman Empire. Cumont has drawn attention to a striking letter of the doctor Thessalus of Tralles, who flourished under Nero. This relates how he travelled about in Egypt and visited many sacred places seeking to find why the proceedings prescribed in the Book of Nechepso did not work; coming to Heliopolis, he made the acquaintance of the priests and finally asked them whether there was any magical power yet preserved. One of them at least enabled him to meet Asclepius, that is Imuthes, face to face, *μόνος πρὸς μόνον*, a phrase familiar from its use by Plotinus.⁵⁷ In the last days of paganism

⁵⁵ Cf. S. Eitrem, *Symbolae Osloenses*, VIII, 1929, 1 ff.

⁵⁶ Ed. M.-A. Kugener, *Patrologia Orientalis*, II i p. 28.

⁵⁷ Texts in *Cat. codd. astr. gr.*, VIII 3, 132 ff., ed. P. Boudreaux, and VIII 4, 253 ff., ed. Cumont; discussed by Cumont, *Monuments Piot* XXV, 1921/2, 77 ff. On *μόνος πρὸς μόνον* cf. E. Peterson, *Philol.*, LXXXVIII, 1933, 30 ff. The similarity to the religious quests described by Justin Martyr in his *Dialogue*, at the opening of the Cle-

we have the story in *Apophthegmata Patrum* of the visit of a heathen priest to the Abbot Olympios and of the priest's surprise on learning that the monks did not enjoy visions of God. "When we serve our god, he hides nothing but reveals his secrets to us."⁵⁸ The magic papyri contain various ways of securing direct vision and contact.⁵⁹ To Philo, in whom the Jewish and the Graeco-Egyptian strains meet, the *ὁρατικὸν γένος*, the men who see God, are the highest type of humanity.⁶⁰ To them this vision becomes an end in itself; as in Hermetic literature, it raises the recipient to the plane of deity.

The writer of our text has no such exalted conception. To him vision is purely a means to a specific end — the attainment of certain knowledge. We may suppose that he was inspired by various ideas and practices current around him — the possibility of obtaining answers to questions from an oracle, that of getting prophetic dreams, that perhaps of the existence of esoteric methods for securing special revelations (though he had no idea of the constraining processes which are so prominent in them), and again the habit of sleeping in temples to obtain dreams indicating the right way of being healed of a disease. In magic and in incubation there were, as here, the preliminary fast and purification and the incense offering.

He realized strongly the need of purification. This underlying feeling is wellnigh universal, resting as it does on the belief that the impurities contracted in ordinary life require a period of quarantine in which to wear off, as both holiness and unholiness are thought to do,⁶¹ and on the empirical fact that abstinence does predispose people to see visions; at this time it was widely held that some sort of abstinence was necessary for

mentine romances and (humorously) by Lucian in his *Menippus* has been noted; and cf. Nock, *Conversion*, 107 ff. It was a common idea that temples were sources of wisdom; cf. Rhetorius, in *Cat. codd. astr. gr.*, VIII iv, 210, 30 ἡ ἐν ἱεροῖς ἀναστροφὰς ποιούμενους προφάσει μαντείων, ἐνθουσιασμῶν, ἢ μαθημάτων.

⁵⁸ Cotelier, *Ecclesiae graecae monumenta*, I 582.

⁵⁹ Nock, *Journ. Egypt. Arch.*, XV, 1929, 230 ff.

⁶⁰ Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, 3rd ed., p. 317.

⁶¹ For the wearing off of holiness, cf. *P. gr. mag.*, I 41 (after winning a *paredros* abstain from intercourse with a woman for seven days). For freedom from all vice (l. 6), cf. Celsus, *True Word*, III 59 p. 20 Glöckner (in what he gives as a typical proclamation before a mystery) *ὅστις ἀγνὸς ἀπὸ παντὸς μύσους, καὶ ὅτω ἡ ψυχὴ οὐδὲν σὺννοιδε κακόν*.

any serious study, just as for gymnastics.⁶² Our questioner did not depend on any magic method or power to cause the god to disclose the truth; the offering of incense was for him a natural pious beginning, like crossing oneself. After all, from the time of Augustus onwards, every member of the senate offered incense at the beginning of each of its meetings. Like Plutarch (Isis and Osiris, 80, p. 383), our writer may have thought of incense as hygienic and purificatory; it continued the work done by his self discipline.

This contrast with magic appears again in the fact that he did not keep to himself what he had learned. The Poimandres affords a good parallel. The writer of that work had been thinking about nature. His mind was exalted and his bodily senses dulled and he saw a divine visitant, who revealed to his eager questioning all that he wished to know. Then he passed on this new truth to all who would hear and wrote up the account of his gratitude in his heart and rejoiced. Thanksgiving was natural; that was in place after a prophetic dream or such a revelation as is given in [Apul.] *Asclepius* or a magic process. But here that which had been attained did not remain private.

V. THE CONTENT OF THE VISION

A man who has a vision usually sees that which is in some way already present to his mind, whether above or below the level of consciousness. One illustration may be allowed. Sir Edward Browne, in his *A year among the Persians*, 148 f., tells how he met a philosopher of Isfahan who spoke bitterly on the futility of all systems of belief and in particular on the groundless nature of the attempts made to obtain by occult sciences a control over the jinnis. He had essayed the traditional proceeding himself; he had settled in a magical circle, he had eaten little and daily less, he had seen a lion approach on the twenty-first day, as expected, and thereafter a tiger and then a dragon, at the sight of which he fled. Later he concluded from his studies that these visions were hallucinations, and repeated the process in

⁶² Firmicus Maternus, *Mathesis*, II 30. 15 *purus castus esto*; V praef. 4 *pura mente et ab omni terrena conuersatione seposita et cunctorum flagitiorum labe purgata*. On fasting as a preliminary to vision cf. J. A. Montgomery, *J. Bibl. Lit.*, LI, 1932, 183 ff.

a spirit of philosophical incredulity and saw nothing. What is more, he had not at this time seen a real lion

"and my ideas about the appearance of that animal were entirely derived from the pictures which may be seen over the doors of baths in this country. Now, the lion which I saw in the magic circle was exactly like the latter in form and colouring, and therefore, as I need hardly say, differed considerably in aspect from a real lion."⁶³

We have endeavored to see how our writer would arrive at the idea that it was possible to obtain a revelation. We come now to the content of the revelation. He obviously expected to find Mandulis solar. The speculative tendency to regard many gods as solar, which we see at its height in Macrobius, was common before and was used by philosophers of various schools — and their ideas did filter down to the people. Further, he might well know of the dominant position of the sun in Egyptian piety, and he may have seen the effect produced by the incoming of the first rays of morning into the dark temple. Thanks to their orientation, many Egyptian temples were able to catch these rays;⁶⁴ the pylon of this one faces a little North of East, but the pronaos faces East (to judge from the one small plan I have seen giving the points of the compass).

When he proceeds to define the sun's attributes he must be telling us what was in his mind, for it is clearly implied that all he saw was some appearance of the sun, and the sun's nightly bath, and that Mandulis did not say 'I am . . .' Such a statement would hardly have been omitted from motives of reserve, for divine self-predications of this type were familiar and popular. The most notable is that of Isis to Lucius in Apuleius XI. He has prayed to the queen of heaven, whether she be Ceres or celestial Venus or Diana or Proserpine, or whatever the right name or rite or likeness be. She appears, and says that these names and others are hers, but the true name is

⁶³ Cf. Tertullian *De anima* 9, iam uero, prout scripturae leguntur aut psalmi canuntur aut allocutiones proferuntur aut petitiones delegantur, ita inde materiae uisionibus subministrantur.

⁶⁴ Professor Griffith informs me that the original and essential purpose of temple-orientation was that the dromos should go straight to the river landing place East or West, but that it could be also North or South or for the sun to strike inwards on rising over the hills.

Isis.⁶⁵ That the sun set in the Ocean was obvious; that he bathed in it was an old Egyptian idea, and the Egyptians like others thought of the morning sun as new; in fact they commonly thought of him as passing through two, three, or even twelve phases.⁶⁶ That they thought of him as reborn by the lifegiving water is not expressly stated in the texts, but inferred by Blackman.⁶⁷ Certainly they looked on water as revivifying, and water of rejuvenation was thought capable of renewing the dead.⁶⁸ Whatever the truth about Blackman's theory, it is not necessary to see Egyptian influence here; the 'water of life' is a very widespread idea⁶⁹ and there is here no word of rebirth or of the various solar phases. The nightly bath of the sun was a commonplace in Graeco-Roman poetry, and Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IV 214 ff. speaks of his horses as feeding on ambrosia every night: the second century Christian apologist Melito of Sardis treats the sun's bath as an analogy for baptism, saying that the sun rejoices greatly in his mystic baptism, drawing his sustenance from water, and that, remaining one and the same, he rises as a new sun for men, strengthened from the deep, purified by his bath and, having driven away the darkness of night, begets radiant day.⁷⁰

The description of the sun as all-seeing is universal, that of him as ruler of the world was as current among Greeks as among Egyptians. The mutilation of the central part of the text compels us to be cautious, but it is not possible that it should have found room for the Egyptian idea of the nightly triumph

⁶⁵ J. Berreth, *Studien zum Isisbuch in Apuleius, Metamorphosen* (Diss. Tübingen, 1931) 16 ff. has shown the meaning of the story, as that of a revelation. The literary fiction is heightened by the fact that Isis is not previously mentioned in the story.

⁶⁶ Hopfner, *Offenbarungszauber*, I 100 f. §§ 405 ff.

⁶⁷ *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XL, 1918, 57 ff., 86 ff.; *Rec. Trav.*, XXXIX, 1921, 44 ff.; *Journ. Egypt. Arch.*, V 117 ff., 148 ff.; some criticism by H. Bonnet, *ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ*, I, 1925, 103 ff.

⁶⁸ Cf. a papyrus of the Persian period quoted by Ed. Meyer, *S. B. preuss. Ak.* 1928, 510 "Ich vergötte die ehrwürdige Seele des Osiris Unnofre des Seligen . . . Ich werde seine Seele und seine Glieder beleben durch Wasser der Verjüngungs das ihn verjüngt zu seiner Zeit ohne aufhören."

⁶⁹ So of those who hear the prophet Corp. Herm., I 29 ἐτράφησαν ἐκ τοῦ ἀμβροσίου ὕδατος.

⁷⁰ *Περὶ Δουτροῦ* 3, p. 311 Goodspeed.

of the sun over the powers of evil who sought to bar his way.⁷¹ We seem a little nearer to Egyptian thought when our writer speaks of the power and breath brought by the morning rays into the shrine. This recalls Egyptian thought, according to which the sun's rays conveyed a sort of fluid streaming into shrines and men.⁷² Perhaps our writer was in some measure influenced by some special phenomenon, such as the proverbial musical note caused by the rays which first struck the colossus of Memnon, or again the way in which the first rays to strike the Serapeum touched the cult-image on the lips, 'ita ut inspectante populo osculo salutatus Serapis uideretur a Sole.'⁷³ In any case, as has been remarked, Egyptian temples were very often oriented so that the rising sun might light up their dark interiors. Nevertheless, here also the source may lie in thought which had come within the Hellenistic horizon. Macrobius, Saturnalia, I 23. 21 says 'postremo potentiam solis ad omnium potestatum summitatem referri indicant theologi, qui in sacris hoc breuissima precatatione demonstrant dicentes, "Ἡλιε παντοκράτορ, κόσμον πνεῦμα, κόσμον δύναμις, κόσμον φῶς.'" The *theologi* who thus addressed the sun as almighty, breath of the universe, power of the universe, light of the universe, were probably men (for instance, Neoplatonists) who used the Chaldaean Oracles. In the so-called Mithras liturgy (P. gr. mag., IV 641) 'thy breath is strong, thy power is strong,' *ἰσχύει σου ἡ πνοή, ἰσχύει σου ἡ δύναμις* is addressed to Helios and there is a direction (537), 'draw in breath (*πνεῦμα*) from the rays, inhaling thrice, as hard as you can.' After all, the Stoics thought of the *pneuma* of the universe as fiery.

⁷¹ E.g. Roeder, Urkunden, 1; A. Scharff, Ägyptische Sonnenlieder. Ed. Meyer, Sitzungsberichte, Berlin, 1928, 503 ff. discusses a solar creed from Karnak of the twenty-first dynasty, notable for its slight emphasis on mythological elements and for the absence of the usual identification of other gods. K. Sethe, Abh. Berlin, 1929, iv, 110 urges that this process of spiritualization goes back much further in Egyptian history.

⁷² Cf. F. Preisigke, Vom göttlichen Fluidum nach ägyptischer Anschauung, and Die Gotteskraft der frühchristlichen Zeit; also Roeder, Urkunden, 232 for the fragrance associated with the sun's rising; K. Sethe, Abh. Berlin, 1929, iv, 90 ff. on the concept of Amon as wind, breath of life, spirit.

⁷³ Rufinus, Historia ecclesiastica, XI 23; cf. W. Weber, Drei Untersuchungen zur ägyptisch-griechischen Religion, 9.

So far the mental background of this document has not shown itself to contain elements characteristically Egyptian: it is in the style of later Hellenistic thought. What of the description of the sun as all-powerful Eternity?

VI. AION

We may first observe that this is a purely descriptive phrase. It is not an identification of Helios with some other definite divine figure. That should require *τὸν καὶ Αἰῶνα*. We have the indication of a functional attribute and aspect of deity. The term Aion was very much in the air. But it must be remembered that the ancients did not have our distinction of capital and small letters. Αἰών, like Σοφία and Χάρις and Λόγος, oscillated between being a noun and a personification. Thus an invocation in P. gr. mag., XIII 983 ff. starts *κύριος αἰῶνος ὁ πάντα κτίσας θεὸς μόνος ἄφθεγκτος* and after magical names ends *ὁ μέγας μέγας Αἰών, θεέ, (κύ)ρ(ιος) Αἰών*, and in XII 246 we have *τίς δ' αἰὼν αἰῶνα τρέφων αἰῶσιν ἀνάσσει*;⁷⁴

The life of man lies in time and in space: time, like space, is the stage on which he acts his part, and it is very easy for him to think of everything as in a sense produced or begotten by time.⁷⁵ This is a natural mode of pictorial expression, seen in many shapes throughout antiquity. In the older Greek writings the predominant word or name is Chronos, not Aion. αἰών was originally a very fluid word, commonly meaning 'life.' Plato, in *Timaeus* 37 D, gave to it the sense of eternity as contrasted with time, and thereafter this connotation was frequent though not inevitable or universal: technical terms did not suit the genius of the Greek language.

⁷⁴ In the Clarian oracle mentioned pp. 83, 99 the supreme Being is called Aion, and we have also *ἀζηχεῖ δ' ἐν μελεδημῶ αἰὼν αἰώνεσσ' ἐπιμύγνυνται ἐκ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ*. In general, cf. Nock, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LII, 1933, 137. So *amartatāt* is used to describe (a) one of the Ahuras (b) the food of immortality enjoyed by the blessed (Chr. Bartholomae, *Die Gatha's des Awesta*, 121, 131: cf. ib. 68, where it is uncertain whether the meaning is 'creator of Vohu Manah' or 'creator of good sense').

⁷⁵ Such thinking was elaborated in India; cf. A. B. Keith, *Religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, 24, 209, 437, 465 ff. Here, as in Greece, it was the result of deliberate thinking; was it so also in Persia? For India and Greece we have a sequence of material which is not available for Persia.

It has been suggested that behind much of the use of Aion in this sense lies the Persian concept of Zervan, the time or space which is the ultimate principle of the universe, the source of the good god (Ahura Mazda) and of the evil god (Ahriman). In canonical Zoroastrianism this was pushed into the background, but in all probability it goes back far into Persian religious history, and had originally no taint of heresy;⁷⁶ for Mithraism Zervan was the first principle.⁷⁷ Since Plato in the *Politicus* and *Laws* gives indications which may be regarded as pointing to an acquaintance with Persian dualism, and Eudemus, who belonged to the early Academic circle, knew the Persian doctrine, it might be thought possible that here Plato knew of Zervan: but this is not likely in view of the complete absence of mythical concepts from the passage in the *Timaeus*.

Aion is not used for this concept by our sources; in Mithraism the figure corresponding to Zervan seems to have been called Kronos rather than Aion,⁷⁸ and Philo of Byblus, who as we shall see tells of a Phoenician Aion, does not — unless the quotation in Eusebius fails us in this — use the name Aion in his excerpt from a supposed work of Zoroaster, concerning a god of this type.⁷⁹ Eudemus, cited by Damascius, has χρόνος, not αἰών.⁸⁰

One supposed instance of Aion in this sense requires discussion at length. In the text which Antiochus I, king of Commagene from 69 B.C. onwards, caused to be set upon his mausoleum (not much before 31 B.C.) we read that his body, which has been favored of heaven till old age, will lie *εἰς τὸν ἄπειρον αἰῶνα* (l. 43) in this monument after despatching his soul to the heavenly throne of Zeus Oromasdes, and later (l. 112 f.) that it is right for his law to be kept by all generations of men *οὓς ἂν χρόνος ἄπειρος εἰς διαδοχὴν χώρας*

⁷⁶ Cf. O. G. von Wesendonk, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1931, 53 ff.; A. Christensen, *Études sur le zoroastrianisme de la Perse antique* (Det kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologisk Meddelelser, XV 2, 1928), 45 ff., and *Le monde oriental*, XXV, 1931, 29 ff.; Cumont, *Rev. d'hist. et de litt. rel.*, N. S., VIII, 1922, 9 ff.; H. Lommel, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1931, 963 ff.

⁷⁷ Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, I, 19, 74 ff.; Fr. Saxl, *Mithras*, 71 f.

⁷⁸ Cumont, *ib.* 76. (The passage describing which he quotes from *Mythographus Vaticanus* III appears under the rubric *Saturnus*. Probably an earlier Greek art-type was adapted for this deity, as for *Mithras*; possibly from *Orphism*.)

⁷⁹ C. Müller, *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum*, III 572 f.

⁸⁰ *Dubitaciones et solutiones* 125 bis (I 322 Ruelle).

ταύτης ἰδίᾳ βίον μοῖρα καταστήσῃ.⁸¹ The natural translation is 'for endless eternity' and 'whom endless time sets in the succession of rule over this land according to their individual destinies,' the personification of time in the second being familiar and spontaneous. Nevertheless, since Antiochus claims Persian as well as Greek descent (30, 225), and states that the priest is to wear raiment befitting the Persian race (71 f.), and since the gods specified, of whom there were two rows of images, are Zeus-Oromasdes, Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes, Artagnes-Heracles-Ares, and the deified country of Commagene, a Persian significance has been seen in these phrases. H. Junker regards the first as referring to the awaiting of the commencement of the Unlimited Aion which is to succeed the 'Aion of long domination' in which we live,⁸² and which will bring with it the resurrection of the flesh.⁸³

This cannot be right. Antiochus had this monument erected with all Greek-speaking posterity in view and clearly employed a skilled rhetorician to compose the inscription.⁸⁴ Although the mausoleum was hard of access, owing to the height of the Nemoud Dagh, copies of the reliefs with adaptations of the text were set up: of those at Selik and Samosata there are remains of which we shall speak later (p. 81).⁸⁵ The inscription is comparable with the Res Gestae of Augustus, which also was set up in various copies. Antiochus had no reason, like early Christians in Asia Minor, to veil his meaning in cryptic phrases, and I cannot believe that in the phrases quoted any Greek of the time would have seen more than met the eye. *ἄπειρος αἰών* is a familiar phrase (e.g. *ἐξ ἀπείρου αἰῶνος*, Diels, Vorsokratiker, I p. 16. 14; *τὸν ἀπείρου αἰῶνα*, ib. 318. 16; Aristot. ap. [Plut.] Consolat. ad Apoll. 27 p. 115 C: [Plut.] 111 C, 117 E, the sense in the two last quotations turning on the contrast of human life and all time, as in Hipparchus in Diels, II p. 138. 14, *ὡς πρὸς τὸν ξύμπαντα αἰῶνα*; Leisegang's index to Philo, I 103; Proclus, Elements of Theology, 206 p. 180 Dodds). So for *χρόνος ἄπειρος* we may quote Plato Rep. p. 499 C; [Plato] Epinomis p. 987 A; Aristotle, p. 969 a 29; Diels, II p. 23. 11; Leisegang, l.c.; J. von Arnim, Stoicorum veterum fragmenta, II p. 163, 8, III p. 260. 19; Proclus, Elements, 85 p. 78. Neither belongs to the stock of conventional phrases used in inscriptions to mean 'for all time,' but this is a text in which solemnity was sought.

When the preposition *εἰς* is used in a temporal sense it means: (a) *till* a particular point of time, as *εἰς ἡῶ*; (b) at a particular point of time, as *εἰς τρίτην ἡμέραν*; (c) into or till the end of a particular period, or for its endlessness if it be endless, as in [Arist.] De mundo, p. 401 a 16 (of Zeus) *διήκων ἐξ αἰῶνος ἀτέρμυτος εἰς ἕτερον αἰῶνα*; Sextus Empiricus, Aduersus mathematicos, IX 62 ἡ δὲ γε τῶν θεῶν ἔννοια καὶ ἐξ αἰῶνος ἦν καὶ εἰς αἰῶνα διαμένει; further examples in E. Peterson, EIS ΘΕΟΣ, 169 f. (in this usage a *terminus a quo* is stated); (d) for a particular period, as in *εἰς ἐνιαυτόν, εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον*; in

⁸¹ Dittenberger, *Orientis graeci inscriptiones selectae*, 383; L. Jalabert-R. Mouterde, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, 1. For the mausoleum, cf. A. B. Cook, Zeus, I 742 ff.

⁸² Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg, 1921/2, 152.

⁸³ H. Gressmann, *Die hellenistische Gestirnsreligion*, 23.

⁸⁴ J. Waldis, *Sprache und Stil der grossen griechischen Inschrift vom Nemrud Dagh in Kommagene* (Diss. Zürich, 1920).

⁸⁵ Jalabert-Mouterde, nos. 51 f.

l. 9 of this inscription *εἰς χρόνον αἰώνιον; εἰς πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα* (Dittenberger Or. gr. inscr. sel., 566. 21); *εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα* (332. 32: 138/3 B.C.). One phrase, *εἰς τὸν ἄπειρον αἰῶνα*, is merely an elaboration of this. The sacrificial institutions are eternal, *ἀϊδίων* (l. 75 f.): there is no hint of *uenturum expecto dominum*.

While Antiochus uses *οὓς ἂν χρόνος ἄπειρος . . . καταστήσῃ* of future generations, he has a little later of the priest (126 f.), *ὅστις τε ἂν ὑστέρῃ χρόνῳ τάξιν λάβῃ ταύτην*, and of the artistes consecrated as hierodules (179 f.), *οἵτινες ἂν ἐν ἅπαντι χρόνῳ τοῦτο γένος διαδέχωνται*.⁸⁶ Is it credible that there should be any fundamental distinction between these phrases? or is it justifiable that *αἰών* and *χρόνος* should be used in studied contrast, without juxtaposition and some sort of emphatic phrase to underline the antithesis?⁸⁷

These considerations seem to me decisive, but we must pause for a moment to take stock of a serious argument advanced by H. H. Schaeder.⁸⁸ He has noted that, while no gods are named or represented save those mentioned p. 80 and the king as a 'new Fortune,' nevertheless Antiochus states that he chose to make the site of his mausoleum a holy throne to be shared by all the gods, *ιερόν ἁπάντων κοινὸν ἀναδεῖξαι θεῶν ἐνθρόνισμα* (l. 45 f.), in order that not only the heroic band of his ancestors may be there but also the divine shape of manifest deities may make this place too a witness to his piety. Schaeder infers that the real object of worship was Zervan as 'Allgott,' the four figures named being his attributes or aspects, and connects them with four aspects of Zervan in Manichee texts and also with three puzzling figures associated with Zervan in Christian writers.

The answer is, I think, that while only four deities are named, others would be worshipped in the shrine, for instance by adding the formula 'and to all gods and goddesses' on occasions of sacrifice. Ancient pantheons did not in fact contain representations of all known deities: it must be admitted that those of which we have details contained more representations than this shrine.⁸⁹ In any case, this was not a temple: it was a holy place, sacred to all the gods, but those of special importance for the king had images. Once more, why is this divine unity so veiled? Why does the king use such phrases as *δαίμοσιν ἐπηκόοις* (59), *βασιλικῶν δαιμόνων* (116), *μεγάλων δαιμόνων ἐπιφανείας* (85), *θεῶν ἡρώων τε τούτων* (126), *πατρῴους ἅπαντας θεούς* (224)?

While he is not consistent, the king appears to distinguish the gods of his special devotion from the gods as a whole and to call the first daimones. But there is a stronger argument against Schaeder's view. The Samosata inscription gives a shortened version of the text:⁹⁰ the twenty-six lines preserved correspond to the first 64 of the Nemroud Dagh record. In it Antiochus ex-

⁸⁶ Cf. ib. 47, III 14; IV 10, (the Arsameia inscription recording an earlier foundation by Antiochus for the cult of his ancestors).

⁸⁷ They can be used side by side without distinction, as in *Anthologia Palatina*, IX 51. *αἰὼν πάντα φέρει δολιχὸς χρόνος οἶδεν ἀμείβειν κτλ.*

⁸⁸ Vorträge Warburg, 1924/5, 135 ff.; cf. E. Peterson, *EIS ΘΕΟΣ*, 245 ff.

⁸⁹ H. Jacobi, *ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΘΕΟΙ* (Diss. Halle, 1930), 99. Note that the explanation preferred by Cassius Dio, *LIII* 27, 2, for the name Pantheon at Rome is that by reason of its shape it resembled the heavens.

⁹⁰ Jalabert-Mouterde, 52; for the constitution of the text, cf. A. Wilhelm, *Wiener Studien*, XLVII, 1929, 127 ff.

pands πατρῶαν ἀρχὴν παραλαβὼν into πατρῶαν βασιλεῖαν παραλαβὼν παρὰ] Διὸς τε Ὀρομάσθου καὶ Ἀπόλλ[ωνος Μίθρου Ἡλίου Ἐρ]μοῦ καὶ Ἀρτάγνου Ἡρακλέους [Ἄρεως], omits κοινὴν θεῶν ἀπάντων . . . καθιερυνσάμην and continues [καὶ ποιησά]μενος παλαιὰς δυνάμεις [καὶ τύχης νέας ἐ]μῆς ἡλικιωτίν θεῶν μεγάλω[ν τὴν ἀρχαίαν τιμὴν] ἐν ἱερᾷ τε λιθείᾳ μιᾷς περιό[δου δαίμοσιν οὐρα]νίοις χαρακτήρα μορφῆς ἐμῆς [ἐπηκόοις σύνθρονο]ν εἰς δεξιὰς παρέστησα, με[λμημα δίκαιον φυλάσσω]ν κτλ]. That is to say, Antiochus not merely makes his rule a gift from these personal deities, but he omits (a) any reference to the dedication of the shrine to all the gods; (b) εἰς τὸν ἄπειρον αἰῶνα — two of the three supposed theological shibboleths.

So much for negative criticism. There is something positive for us to learn from this inscription. Firstly, it is unconventional in substance, just as in form. Antiochus did not hold the imposing concept of a divine unity with four aspects which has been ascribed to him, but religion was a main interest of his life and reign: he made his kingdom a home for all the gods (l. 24 ff.); he adorned the images of the gods made in accordance with Persian and Greek tradition; he gave them sacrifices and festivals. Neither tradition was that of his land and what he did does not appear to have struck firm roots in its soil.⁹¹ The inscription is not bilingual, like the Graeco-Aramaic text at Ar-aramneia.⁹² Here we see a phenomenon of syncretism in the hour of its birth — like the formation of the worship of Sarapis, or the wedding of Bel and the Mazdyasnic religion mentioned in a Cappadocian inscription.⁹³ Antiochus rules by divine grace, like a Persian monarch; he represents himself in the reliefs with the attributes of Zeus, like a Hellenistic monarch; the ritual dress of his shrine is Persian, but the idea of the ascent of his soul, while perhaps Mesopotamian in origin, was familiar in Hellenistic circles. Secondly, since there is later evidence for the importance of the concept of Zervan in the Mazdaeism of Asia Minor,⁹⁴ it is very significant that the idea is not stressed by Antiochus. His special devotion, like that of the Persian kings, is to Ahura Mazda.⁹⁵

To conclude, while Zervan could, like Aion in our text, be called almighty, and while he was known to some Greek thinkers, we are not entitled to see him in Aion: so far as I know, Aion never renders Zervan.⁹⁶

⁹¹ Hönigmann, Pauly-Wissowa, Supp. IV 989.

⁹² Nock in Jackson-Lake, Beginnings of Christianity, V 177.

⁹³ M. Lidzbarski, Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik, I, 1900-2, 66 ff. Other instances of such action on a lower social plane are Dittenberger, Sylloge, 3rd ed., 985 (the foundation of the shrine at Philadelphia in Lydia with its special list of deities and its moral requirements) and G. Mendel, Catalogue des sculptures [de Constantinople], III 54 ff. no. 847, a stele from near Dorylaeum dedicated by a man and his wife Ἐρμη-δίων Ἐρμηῶδος σὺν γυναίκῃ Νάνα πρωτοιερεῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἰδίων Ὅσιω Δικέω εὐχὴν (they are self-ordained priests of this cult).

⁹⁴ Cumont, Textes et monuments, I 19.

⁹⁵ Cf. Jalabert-Mouterde, 47, VI.

⁹⁶ Again in the Orphic theogony of Hieronymus-Hellanicus the Zervan-like figure is called χρόνος ἀγήραος and Heracles (Kern, Orphica, 130 no. 54: A. Boulanger, Orphée, 55). Kern, 163 no. 95, has the line καὶ φύσεως κλυτὰ ἔργα μένει καὶ ἀπείριτος αἰὼν, where the sense is not clear; ib. 134 n. 56 (Phanes), τὸν ἄπειρον περιλάμπει αἰῶνα, with αἰὼν in

We may now attempt to survey some Greek ideas which bear on the possible connotation of Aion in our text. (1) The philosophic sense, stamped upon it as has been said by Plato, — eternity viewed ideally, in contrast with χρόνος, eternity viewed as actual time. Aristotle related αἰών especially to the heavens. The philosophic sense appears in Corpus Hermeticum XI and in a dedication at Eleusis, probably of 74–3 B.C., made ‘for the might of Rome and the continuance of the mysteries,’ and stating that Aion abides for ever, without beginning middle and end, without change, the craftsman making a divine nature eternal in all respects, and that the universe likewise is one.⁹⁷

(2) The Aion of philosophy in Hellenistic and later thought can be the second god, δεύτερος θεός, part of the descending chain which linked God and the world. So in the Chaldaic Oracles Aion is the cause of activity and motion,⁹⁸ and in the Naassene section in Hippolytus the divine child born in the Eleusinian mysteries is explained as being Αἰῶνα Αἰώνων.⁹⁹ Aion could again be the supreme being. So in one of the oracles from Claros mentioned earlier it is stated that the chief deity is Aion, the various gods of cultus being a small part of him and his angels.¹⁰⁰ An invocation in P. gr. mag., XII 238 ff. is addressed to “the god from the four winds, almighty (παντοκράτωρ), that didst breathe into men for life, whose name is veiled and concealed among men . . . the water about thee, the Ocean, is Agathos Daimon. . . . What Aion, nurturing Aion, rules the aiones (ages)? There is one immortal god.” This spell, (but not the verse hymn which includes the name Aion), occurs in two other papyri of the same type.

a local sense, possibly just as the Pythagoreans gave a local meaning to χρόνος (cf. Diels, Vorsokratiker, I 355, 5 ff., but the phrasing may be due to our source, the author of the Clementine Homilies, or to some intermediary in the line of transmission).

⁹⁷ Dittenberger, Sylloge, 1125; O. Weinreich, Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, XIX, 1918, 174 ff.; M. Zepf, ib., XXV, 1927, 225 ff.; E. R. Dodds, Proclus, The Elements of Theology, 227 ff.

⁹⁸ W. Kroll, De oraculis Chaldaicis, 27. Simplicius in Arist. Phys. p. 785. 9 Diels (Comm. in Arist., IX) καὶ δῆλον ὅτι οὗτος ἂν εἴη ὁ χρόνος ὃς ὡς θεὸς ὑπὸ τε Χαλδαίων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἱερᾶς ἀγιστείας τιμηθείς. Here Χαλδαίων may refer to the Oracles, or to astrological writers; ἀγιστείας to Magians and in particular to Zervanite thinkers or possibly to Orphics.

⁹⁹ Refutatio, V 8 45 p. 97. 19 Wendland.

¹⁰⁰ K. Buresch, Klaros, 97 f.

These magic papyri are of special importance for our text, since the description of Helios as Aion is well attested in them. He is addressed as *δέομαί σου, αἰωναῖε Αἰών, ἀκινοκράτωρ, αἰωνοπολοκράτωρ* (I 200), *τὸν ἕνα καὶ μάκαρα τῶν Αἰώνων πατέρα τε κόσμου* (IV 1169 f.); we have *ὁ τῶν ὅλων δεσπότης, ὁ Αἰὼν τῶν Αἰώνων. σὺ εἶ ὁ κοσμοκράτωρ, 'Ρᾱ, Πᾱν* (Ib. 2197 ff.). Helios is thus both Aion and all-powerful. Of course Aion may be distinguished from him, as in I 309 and VII 510 (*σὺ εἶ ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ παλιγγενούς Αἰῶνος*, by a transparent allegory), or as in IV 1181 ff., *δέξαι μου τὰ φθέγματα, ἄκουε 'Ηλιε, πάτερ κόσμου . . . 1205, ὁ κύριος ἐμαρτύρησέ σου τῇ Σοφίᾳ, ὃ ἐστὶν Αἰὼν*. So *παντοκράτωρ* is used also of Iao,¹⁰¹ Typhon, Albalal, Adonai, and Hermes¹⁰² in these papyri. Aion is thus a term of fluid sense, popular perhaps because of the vague suggestion of the unknowable. It was not a proper *nomen* — hardly an individuality — and is very rare on amulets.¹⁰³ There was a natural basis for this description of Helios as, or in relation to, Aion. The sun was in Egypt regarded as the source of life, and in a hymn of Akhnaton we read 'Thou art the span of life itself; we exist through thee.'¹⁰⁴ And the sun was the measure of the years, and a natural symbol for time.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ P. Mich., 193, which I know by the courtesy of Professor Campbell Bonner.

¹⁰² P. mag. gr., IV 272 (Seth, VII 962); IV 968; IV 1552; VII 668. For Helios pantokrator, cf. the invocation cited from Macrobius, p. 77 above, for the epithet in general, Höfer in Roscher, Lex., III 1558 f.; K. Keyssner, Gottesvorstellung und Lebensauffassung im griechischen Hymnus (Würzburger Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft, II, 1932), 31, 45 f.; Cumont, Comptes rendus acad. inscr., 1931, 243 f.

¹⁰³ A. Jacoby, Archiv, XXVIII, 1930, 275, 285, conjectures that *ιαωμ* on one is isopsephic for *αἰών*. Professor Bonner has kindly drawn my attention to ΔΙΩΝ, probably for ΑΙΩΝ, on an amethyst, B. M. 56427. The principal feature of the design is a Serapis head, with modius and rays on a jar (Canopic?). For the fluidity of *αἰών* in magical texts, note that in the text which Dieterich called Mithrasliturgie the subject says that he will (520) see *τὸν ἀθάνατον Αἰῶνα καὶ ἐσπότην τῶν πυρρίνων διαδημάτων* and invokes Aion (594), but neither of the two principal gods who appear after the preliminaries is so described.

¹⁰⁴ Roeder, Urkunden, 65.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Ps. Arist. De mundo, p. 397a, 9, *τῶν ἄστρον ἡλίου τε καὶ σελήνης κινουμένων ἐν ἀκριβεστάτοις μέτροις ἐξ αἰῶνος εἰς ἕτερον αἰῶνα*. Lactantius Placidius is ad Stat. Theb., IV 516, p. 228 Jahnke, tells of a view emanating from philosophers, Egyptians, and Persians, according to which there is a supreme god distinct from all the gods of the mythology 'de cuius genere sint soli Sol et Luna.' Among the Trobriand islanders the cycle of the year is determined by the economic round of gardening, and the sun-god does duty for yam and for year (Br. Malinowski, J. R. anthrop. Inst., LVII, 1927, 19).

(3) Further, since we have noted that Aion can be supreme or subordinate, it should be added that the concept of eternity could and did present itself in a variety of forms, some speculative, some commonplace or so to speak sentimental, some mythological. By sentimental I mean mainly political. AETERNITATI AVGVSTAE appears with a representation of a temple on coins of Emerita and Tarraco struck soon after the death of Augustus, referring to his apotheosis. This idea emerges on Imperial coinage in Rome under the Flavians and becomes a regular deified attribute of the living Emperor, commonly accompanied by sun and moon.¹⁰⁶ On the column of Antoninus a young male figure carrying the dead emperor to Olympus possibly represents an aspect of eternity, but I think this very doubtful.¹⁰⁷ By the side of this idea of the eternity of the Emperor existed the older idea of the eternity of Rome, which was thought to be guaranteed by the fire of Vesta and the palladium. An inscription of A.D. 32 at Interamna speaks of Tiberius as 'nati ad aeternitatem Romani nominis sublato hoste perniciosissimo,' after the death of Sejanus.¹⁰⁸ In 66, after another peril, the conspiracy of Piso, games were held at Rome 'pro aeternitate imperii,' and the Arval Brothers then and thereafter sacrificed to this deified abstraction and prayed that the Emperor might be preserved to the same end. Issues of the first years of Vespasian have the legend AETERNITAS P. R.

¹⁰⁶ Cumont, *Rev. d'hist. et de litt. rel.*, I, 1896, 435 ff.; W. Koehler, *Personifikationen abstrakter Begriffe auf römischen Münzen*, I (Diss. Königsberg, 1910), 23 ff.; P. L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, I, 186 ff. The sun and moon have been connected with Horapollon's statement that one Egyptian hieroglyph for aion was sun and moon, which is true of late Egyptian writing (H. Schäfer ap. Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes*, 143), though the term so translated appears to mean 'all the days,' 'always,' and not an abstraction. I suspect that both spring from the same fact of nature, namely that time is made up of nights and days; cf. n. 105, and *Anth. Lat.* 389, 51, *Sol saeculum mensisque, dies Sol, annus et hora*. There is no suggestion that there was any Egyptian religious idea involved, still less any Egyptian religious idea which had any chance of being carried Westwards with those cult-elements which did migrate. As we shall see, the sun was regarded as typically eternal, and this accounts e.g. for the coupling of the legend AETERNITAS from the time of Gordian II on with a representation of the sun. Horapollon himself explains the hieroglyph, *ἡστὶ τὸ αἰῶνα εἶναι στοιχεῖα*.

¹⁰⁷ L. Deubner, *Röm. Mitt.*, XXVII, 1912, 16 ff.

¹⁰⁸ C. I. L., *III* 4170 (= Dess. 157).

and the type of Victory handing the palladium to Vespasian — after the fire of the Capitol and the other troubles of the Four Emperor year.¹⁰⁹ That this was the meaning is confirmed by a dedication of November 17, 70, 'Paci aeternae domus Imp. Vespasiani Caesaris Aug. liberorumque eius.'¹¹⁰ This emotional use of the idea of eternity is seen again in such a private dedication as 'Fortunae aeternae domus Furianae.'¹¹¹

(4) We have seen that Aion is not actually used of Zervan. It is however applied to a Phoenician god. The cosmology which Philo of Byblus produced at the beginning of the second century A.D. as coming from Sanchuniathon, and which in spite of its apocryphal dress contains much that is true Semitic, describes the birth of a first pair of human beings, Aion and Protogonos.¹¹² They are here the first human beings, not the first beings. This is of course a Euhemeristic version of the tale, and Protogonos looks very like a borrowing from an Orphic cosmogony which had in it Chronos as the original god, and yet Aion probably represents Baal Shamin, which means in the first instance 'lord of eternity' and in the second 'lord of the world'¹¹³ — That there is a real substratum is indicated by Eudemus of Rhodes, quoted by Damascius *Dubitaciones et Solutiones*, 125 ter (I 323 Ruelle), who records a Sidonian story of the making of the world with Chronos, Pothos, and Omichle existing before all other things, and another cosmogony coming

¹⁰⁹ Mattingly, B. M. C. R. Emp., II lx.

¹¹⁰ C. I. L., VI 200.

¹¹¹ Dessau 1170 (from Albania). Compare the publicist use of aion in the stele from Egypt published by O. Rubensohn, *Arch. f. Pap.*, V, 1909, 168 no. 24 αἰὼν κηρύξει τὴν Φιλομήτορα καὶ Φιλάδελφον; the rhetorical use of *μόνος*, the only, and of *εἰς θεός*, 'x is the one god' (O. Weinreich, *Menekrates Zeus and Salmoneus*, 6 f.) and the remarks on the Pathosformel in my review of J. Kroll, *Gott und Hölle* (forthcoming in *Am. Jour. Phil.*); Vettius Valens, II 21, p. 86 1 Kroll αἰωνίου μνήμης ἔτυχεν; B. Laum, *Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike*, I, 46 ff.; P. Jouguet, *Essays F. Ll. Griffith*, 243. Is it fanciful to ask whether the emphasis on the idea of eternity of Rome in the third century is in any sense a sort of whistling to keep one's courage up in face of external disaster and of the widespread belief that the world was aging? For the latter cf. Nock, *Sallustius*, lxxxvii, xxiv.

¹¹² FHG., III 565. The god Saeculum frugiferum in Africa may be connected with a Phoenician deity (Cumont, *Textes*, I 78).

¹¹³ Cumont, *Religions orientales*, ed. 4, 269 n. 109 (cf. *Textes*, I 86, on sky-time in Persian texts). On El as 'King, Father of Years' in the Ras Shamra texts, cf. J. A. Montgomery, *J. Amer. Or. Soc.*, LIII 102, 111.

from one Mochus, in which Aether and Aer are the first pair, and Oulomos, whose name probably means eternity,¹¹⁴ is their offspring. Here also Aion is not the supreme being.

(5) In these texts the name Aion was used to render a native name which corresponded to it. Elsewhere it is used in plain allegory with no such basis. Thus Athenagoras, *Legatio*, 22 refers to the view taken of Isis as the physis or nature of Aion *ἣν φύσιν αἰῶνος, ἐξ ἧς πάντες ἐφύσαν καὶ δι' ἣν πάντες εἰσίν, λέγουσιν*. Joannes Lydus says of Aphrodite that her birth from the genitalia of Kronos was explained as a birth from Aion, (*De mensibus*, IV 61 p. 116. 21); *τεχθῆναι δ' αὐτὴν ἀξιούσιν ἀπὸ τῶν Κρόνου μηδέων, τουτέστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος, ἡ δὲ φύσις τῶν πραγμάτων αἰδῖος καὶ ἄφθαρτος*.¹¹⁵ The explanation is clear: Kronos was equated with Chronos and the more philosophical sounding Aion substituted. Earlier Lydus quotes *οἱ περὶ Ἐπιμενίδην* — some Neopythagorean or Neoplatonic forgery — as explaining one of the Dioscuri as Aion, the other as Physis.¹¹⁶ This again is transparent allegory; one of the twins was immortal, one mortal. (It may be recalled that on some third century coins Aeternitas is represented between the Dioscuri.) Elsewhere — with the exception discussed pp. 95 f. below — Lydus uses *αἰών* quite neutrally, either of eternity or of the ages of which it is composed.

(6) Eternity comes to the fore in a late group of poets. Claudian *De consulatu Stilichonis*, II 424 ff. describes how Sol prepared a year worthy of Stilicho's consulate. The god visited a cave which even the gods could hardly approach.

annorum squalida mater
immensi spelunca aeui, quae tempora uasto
suppeditat reuocatque sinu. complectitur antrum,
omnia qui placido consumit numine, serpens
perpetuumque uiret squamis caudamque reductam
ore uorat tacito relegens exordia lapsu.

¹¹⁴ N. McLean ap. A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II 1037; cf. the magic nomen *ευλαμω* discussed by A. Jacoby, *Archiv*, XXVIII, 283 f.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Philodemus, *On piety*, p. 79. 1 ff. Gomperz; Artemidorus, II 37 p. 142. 13 Hercher (of Aphrodite) *φύσις γὰρ καὶ μήτηρ τῶν ὄλων εἶναι νερόμισται*; P. gr. mag., IV 2917 (addressed to Aphrodite) *Φύσι παμμήτωρ*.

¹¹⁶ IV 17 p. 78. 20; cf. Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 130.

uestibuli custos uultu longaeua decoro
ante fores natura sedet cunctisque uolantes
dependent membris animae. mansura uerendus
scribit iura senex, numeros qui diuidit astris
et cursus stabilesque moras, quibus omnia uiuunt
ac pereunt fixis cum legibus.

He keeps record of the meanings of the movements of the heavenly bodies. When Sol stood on the threshold of this cave, Nature and the old man met him respectfully, the doors opened and he picked out a golden year. The tail-eating serpent is a familiar symbol,¹¹⁷ and yet it seems to me that this is an imaginary allegorical picture. Aion should properly speaking be superior to the sun. As it is, he is a mere janitor, or rather caretaker, for Nature is the janitress. The combination of the two abstractions has parallels (p. 87). The whole second book is filled with personifications who play their parts in honor of Stilicho — Clementia, Fides, Iustitia, and the like —, and then personified provinces, the hero's personified home, and Rome. The setting in the cave has caused Gressmann to think of a Persian origin for the scene and he has further compared the old man with the wellknown figure in Daniel 7.¹¹⁸ If this is so, at least we must observe that the sense has been lost with the reduction of Aion to a subordinate position. And the cave might conceivably be related to the Orphic cave of night.¹¹⁹

Nonnus again and his imitator Johannes of Gaza have individualistic personifications of Aion. Here the figure has no attributes of a cultgod and is prominent in the paraphrase of the fourth Gospel as well as in the Dionysiaca.¹²⁰ Again in the prayer ascribed to Musaeus, which is prefixed to the Orphic hymns, the all-surpassing strength of Aion is indeed invoked

¹¹⁷ Found in Egypt and on a Mithraic monument and ascribed also to the Phoenicians (Macrob. Sat., I 9. 12); cf. Cumont, *Festschrift Benndorf*, 291 ff.

¹¹⁸ *Z. f. Kircheng.*, XLI, 1922, 175.

¹¹⁹ A. Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 159 n. 1; cf. G. W. Dyson in *Speculum Religionis* . . . to C. G. Montefiore, 32 ff.

¹²⁰ J. Golega, *Studien über die Evangeliendichtung des Nonnos von Panopolis* (Breslauer Studien zur historischen Theologie, XV, 1930), 63 ff.; P. Friedländer, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentiarius*, 178. Another free personification in Eusebius, *Triakonteterikos*, p. 206. 15 ff. Heikel. (Note that in Nonnus, XII 23–5 Helios is clearly distinct from Aion.)

(l. 28) Ἀτλαντός τε καὶ Αἰῶνος μέγ' ὑπείροχον ἰσχύν, after Ocean and his daughters and before Chronos and the water of Styx. He is here for the sake of completeness,¹²¹ but it is to be noted that in the collection there is no hymn addressed to him (XIII 5 Ἀἰῶνος Κρόνε παγγενέτορ is conventional allegory) and he has certainly no important position. It may be that the writer has met the name in a Chaldaic or Clarian oracle or in some philosophic context. I am inclined to think that the redactor was philosophically interested; he certainly did not retain the essential core of Orphic theology, for all his use of its names and literature.

(7) Complication is introduced by the use of αἰών in Christian literature as a term descriptive of a whole category of supernatural beings, like δαίμων or πνεῦμα. Their characteristic may be the rule of a period of world history, as in Eph. 2. 2 κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, which is synonymous with what follows, κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος. More often an Aion is the personified representative of a region in the stratification of the universe — one zone in the spacing down from God to man. Αἰῶνας in Hebr. 1. 2, 11. 3 is simply 'worlds.' It has been recognized that this use has a Semitic background, and it does not appear in texts which are in no relation to Judaism or Christianity.¹²² The magic papyri are known to have a strong strain of Jewish influence and when Damascius speaks of theologi as calling the many gods Aiones because of a certain property of the first Aion (Dub. 151, ii p. 33. 24), ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς οἱ θεολόγοι τοὺς πολυμόρφους θεοὺς αἰῶνας καλοῦσι διὰ τήνδε τὴν φύσιν τοῦ πρώτου αἰῶνος he is no doubt referring to late Orphica or Chaldaica coming from Neoplatonic circles, which were acquainted with Gnosticism.

These αἰῶνες can be regarded as possessed of personality. When Ignatius asks with reference to Christ, (Eph. 19. 2), 'How was he manifested to the Aiones?' he is speaking of

¹²¹ Lackeit, Pauly-Wissowa, Supp., III 67.

¹²² Lackeit, Aion, Zeit und Ewigkeit in Sprache und Religion der Griechen, I (Diss. Königsberg, 1916) 37 ff. Strack-Billerbeck, Komm. zum N. T., III 671 f. This pluralized abstraction can retain temporal sense e.g. Mart. Matt. 3 (Bonnet, Acta apostolorum apocrypha, II i, 220. 2), Ἰησοῦν τὸ παιδίον τὸν τῶν αἰῶνων πρεσβύτερον ἄλλὰ τῶν αἰῶνων τούτων πάντων πατὴρ ἐγὼ εἰμι.

powers as personal as 'the ruler of this universe' in 19. 1. The term then appears in various Gnostic systems to indicate the several members in their chains of hypostases.¹²³ But it should be noted that in the use of the term there is nothing that was thought to be specifically Gnostic; Irenaeus and Tertullian do not question its suitability, and in a work as early and influential as 1 Clem. 35. 3 we have 'the creator and Father of the Aiones,' as again in Justin Apol. I 41 'to the Father of the Aiones.' This local sense of Aion was not thought to clash with its use in a temporal way to describe the Present Age and the Age to come, and at the same time, as we have seen, there can be an *Αἰὼν αἰώνων*, a phrase which need not at times be more than an emphatic way of describing Aion as supremely worthy of that name: Proclus, Elements of Theology, 53, (p. 52, Dodds) uses it of undivided eternity (as contrasted with the eternity in which things eternal participate).

(8) So far we have considered Aion as a philosophical or theological or poetic abstraction or as a semitechnical term in a special vocabulary, — as a term descriptive of a god who could be recipient of cult and not as a personality who is the recipient of cult (unless the representation of a temple with the legend AETERNITATI AVGVSTAE, p. 85 is supposed to imply a distinct cult of the abstraction, which is possible but not certain). In Alexandria Aion appears as the personal object of worship. Epiphanius (Panarion, LI 22) describes an annual festival in that city on the night of January 5–6 in the Koreion, a very great temple. There was an allnight vigil, with songs and flute music; then after cockerow torchbearers entered a subterranean cavern and brought up a wooden image lying naked in a bier, with the seal of a cross on its forehead, two more on its hands, two more on its knees. This was carried seven times round the center of the holy of holies, with flutes and timbrels and hymns. There was a revel, and it was taken back to the cavern. The meaning assigned to this by the worshippers, says Epiphanius, was that on this very day the maiden (Kore),

¹²³ Two Roman epitaphs, Kaibel, Epigrammata graeca 642 (= I. G., XIV 1976) l. 15 *καὶ τύμβῳ κατέθηκε καὶ αἰῶσιν παρέδωκε*; 726. 3 *αἰώνων ἔσπευσας ἀθρήσαι θεία πρόσωπα*, probably show the Christian or Gnostic concept.

that is the virgin, has given birth to Aion; ὅτι ταύτη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ σήμερον ἡ Κόρη, τουτέστιν ἡ παρθένος, ἐγέννησε τὸν Αἰῶνα. This may be a liturgical cry, and the emphatic ταύτη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ σήμερον sounds like one, but — and this is generally overlooked — Epiphanius quotes it as an explanation, like the explanation which Hippolytus gives of the Eleusinian cry, λέγουσιν ὅτι.¹²⁴

This statement is supplemented by the Alexander legend of Pseudo Callisthenes, (in its oldest extant shape probably about A.D. 300). This, according to a probable restoration, informs us that Aion Plutonium was the patron deity of Alexandria, (and was therefore identified with Agathos Daemon, itself also a descriptive title applied to the Sungod in magical papyri). Further, although this seems not to have been remarked, it mentions a very great image of a virgin (κόρης ἄγαλμα μέγιστον), that is probably, of Kore, standing beside what is called the indescribable xoanon. The xoanon is actually of Sarapis, but the writer obviously knows something in a muddled way of Aion and Kore.¹²⁵ We have also two citations in Suidas. He

¹²⁴ The source of this section is unknown. R. A. Lipsius, *Zur Quellenkritik des Epiphanius*, 233 urged that Epiphanius had indeed invented the name of the Alogi, to whom the section is devoted, but had good material for many of his statements. He had of course lived in Egypt.

For the mother as virgin, there are Semitic analogies (W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 3rd ed., 56, and S. A. Cook's addenda, 520 f.; W. Weber, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xix, 1919, 331 n. 1); the Syrian goddess, like Anat in the Ras Shamra tablets (J. A. Montgomery, *J. Amer. Or. Soc.*, LIII 107), is often called virgin though she has a lover. Was there here a myth of an annual recovery of virginity, like Hera's after a bath at Argos? Or was it assumed that the cycle started afresh each year after the death of Tammuz or Adonis — or before the birth of Aion — without the worshippers feeling the need of any logical bridging of the gap? In default of further evidence, I incline for the moment to the second view.

For the liturgical to-day, cf. in the Canon of the Mass on Maundy Thursday, 'qui pridie quam pro nostra omniumque salute pateretur, hoc est hodie' (present Roman rite); 'q. p. q. p. n. et omnium s. p., hoc est hodierna die' (Milan Sacramentary, A 24, H. Leclercq, *Dict. arch. chrét. et lit.*, XI 1089), and for the antiquity of this phrase, A. Baumstark, *Jahrb. f. Liturgiewissenschaft* VII, 1927, 3. Augustine *Epist.* 98. 9 (in Migne's separate, 1841 edition, ii, 363) says 'Nempe saepe ita loquimur ut Pascha propinquant dicamus crastinam uel perendinam Domini passionem, cum ille ante tam multos annos passus sit, nec omnino nisi semel illa passio facta sit. Nempe ipso die dominico dicimus, Hodie Dominus resurrexit; cum ex quo resurrexit tot anni transierint.' For parallels cf. O. Casel, *Jahrb. f. Liturgiewissenschaft*, VI, 1926, 165 ff.

¹²⁵ The line is faulty in the A text and it is likely that Αἰών stood in the original recension which it represents. So W. Kroll in his edition, I 33, p. 33. 15. Cf. Ausfeld ap.

quotes Damascius as saying that Epiphanius and Euprepius were two Alexandrians expert in ceremonies, Euprepius being the leader of those called Persian, Epiphanius of those to do with Osiris, 'and not only of these, but also of those of the god who is celebrated as Aion, of whom, though I can say who he is, I will not, on the present impulse at any rate.'¹²⁶ In another article he relates that Heraiscus had a peculiar gift enabling him to tell which images were living, i.e. possessed by deities, and which were not. So by a really mystic sympathy with the divine he recognized that the unmentionable image of Aion was tenanted by the god whom the Alexandrians worship and who is Osiris and Adonis alike.¹²⁷

There is another relevant fact. Cumont has published a bas-relief, found probably in Rome or the Campagna, and by its style assigned to the second or third century A.D., showing a god in Egyptian dress, an ankh or symbol of life in each hand, with a twoheaded snake encircling his legs and stretching its two heads over his shoulder. In spite of divergencies, he resembles the Mithraic Kronos type discussed p. 79. He is accompanied by a goddess, and the pair may well be Aion and Kore.¹²⁸

What are we to make of these facts? It is now certain that

R. Reitzenstein, *Nachrichten Göttingen*, 1904, 317, (but Mr. J. Skinner informs me that the Armenian has in fact 'forever' not 'eternity'). Thus Aion becomes a wealth-giving and protecting spirit; cf. R. Wünsch, *Archiv*, XII, 1909, 32 ff. an amulet with a figure like the Mithraic Kronos discussed p. 79 above with magic nomina — not the name Aion: S. Eitrem, on P. Oslo. I 216 p. 86 f. In any case we have not here the equation of the Aion of cult with the Agathos Daimon of cult: the festival of the former was on 11 Tybi, that of the latter on 25 Tybi, and the cult image of Aion had none of the snake concomitants which Agathos Daimon derived from his first form as Psoi. Agathos Daimon also had an extension of use which went far beyond its special local connotation in cult. On the whole complex in the magic papyri cf. Th. Hopfner, *Archiv orientální*, III, 1931, 149 ff., 334 f. In P. gr. mag., III 144 ψοειω occurs in nomina addressed to Helios; κμηφ precedes (142).

¹²⁶ S.v. 'Επιφάνιος; I 2, 481 Bernhardt, II 391 f. Adler.

¹²⁷ I 2, 871 ff. Bern., II 579 Adler. I follow the interpretation of R. Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, 198 f. This passage may well come from the *Life of Damascius* (E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 86*). — For the identification with Osiris, it is perhaps relevant that in P. gr. mag., IV 2093 ff. the holy god Osiris κμηφισρω is mentioned as the power constraining a dead man's spirit to give a revelation, and the figure to be drawn on a membrane is of the type of the so-called Mithraic Kronos mentioned earlier, that on the papyrus sheet is Osiris in Egyptian garb; but the name Aion is not used, and the Alexandrine cult-type of Aion was different.

¹²⁸ Cumont, *C. R. Ac. Inscr.*, 1928, 274.

this Aion has nothing to do with Zervan and it would require great imagination to see any connection between him and the old Egyptian primal divine pair Heh and Hehet.¹²⁹ The five crosses may be ankhs, but if they are they may be due to a desire to give the cult an Egyptian atmosphere,¹³⁰ or they may be, as Boll suggested, symbols of the five planets.¹³¹ The rite itself, as Kern saw, suggests the drama of the birth of Plutus at Eleusis, and it did certainly take place in a Koreion.¹³² Further Aion is at Alexandria associated with Agathodaimon and he too is a figure with a natural affinity to Plutus.

The date, January 6, represents in all probability the date of the winter solstice in the old unified Theban calendar, and it is reasonable to suppose that the date belongs to an old solar festival.¹³³ Similar celebration of a virgin birth took place on the same night at Elusa and Petra and a coincidence is possible only in the borrowing of a celebration of a natural event.¹³⁴ How it came to be kept at Alexandria is a mystery, since, Psoi apart, that city had no constant tradition of native cults and there is no evidence of any celebration on the date elsewhere in Graeco-Roman Egypt.¹³⁵

I would suggest the actual festival as one of Kore and Aion must be referred to a fairly late date. Epiphanius states expressly that the temple was one of Kore, which must in Graeco-Roman Egypt mean Persephone.¹³⁶ The term xoanon in his

¹²⁹ H. Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ägypter*, 2nd ed., pp. 132 ff.; cf. K. Sethe, *Vom Zahlen u. Zahlwörtern bei den alten Ägyptern*, 11 ff.

¹³⁰ We know ancient statuettes with pseudo-hieroglyphic inscriptions.

¹³¹ Ap. Weinreich, *Archiv*, XIX 187. So in a relief at Doura (in a shrine founded A.D. 52) the god Aphlad wears a breastplate, having on its centerpiece the symbol of the sun and seven crosses representing stars and more such symbols on the shoulder straps and belt (M. Rostovtzeff, *Caravan Cities*, 186, pl. XXXII, 1; for the star-adorned garments of deities, cf. R. Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt*). The five crosses have been connected with the five vowels denoting parts of Alexandria; if that were the idea involved, we might expect to find the vowels themselves on the figure.

¹³² *Archiv*, XXII 199 f.

¹³³ K. Sethe, *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1920, 33 ff.; M. P. Nilsson, *Archiv*, XXX 141 ff., esp. 148 f., 156 ff.

¹³⁴ There is evidence for a personified Time among the Arabs: R. Eisler, *Archiv*, XV, 1912, 630 citing J. Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums*, 66.

¹³⁵ F. Bilabel, *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, 1929, 37.

¹³⁶ Cf. P. Oxy. 1449 [list of dedications at Oxyrhynchus, dated A.D. 213-7, showing that her shrine was there distinct from that of Demeter and mentioning among votive

account does not imply antiquity; it is the technical term in Egypt for small processional images.¹³⁷

Now Plutus was the child of Demeter and not of Kore, but Kore was sometimes said to be the mother of Iacchus, a figure whose chief function was that his wooden image was carried in procession.¹³⁸ It is possible that the date, the solar significance, and the name of Aion were grafted on some earlier solemnity to which the name of Iacchus was attached.

When all allowance has been made for the gaps in our evidence, it remains notable that there is at most one other reference to what Epiphanius describes as a very great festival of Alexandria, and no indication that it spread through the land.¹³⁹ The one striking evidence of the significance of the date is its adoption by the Christians as the date of the Epiphany. While the first evidence for this comes from Egypt, it is possible that Syrian custom played as large a part as Egyptian

objects *ἱαχχάριον μικρὸν* (ρόν), a small votive representation of a shrine of Iacchus]. For Kore, cf. also F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch, III 390 a. In P. Oxy. 1380, 72 (Manteuffel 75) Isis is said to be called Kore in the Metelite nome. B. A. Van Groningen, *De papyro Oxyrhynchita* 1380, 22 f., argues that the name denotes some local Egyptian deity; if so, the equation was complete. More puzzling still in the same document is 104 f. *ἐν Μάγοις Κόρην Θαψ(.)νσι*; here, however, I infer that no comma is to be placed before K. and Θ. In any case the text is not free from efforts of the imagination and from errors. A mummy label, (Preisigke, *Sammelbuch griechischen Urkunden aus Ägypten*, 5508), has the phrase *ἐν τόπῳ Κόρης*. I have no explanation for the origin of the term, though Demeter and Kore protected the dead: P. Roussel, *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos*, 199 f.

Presumably the Koreion was distinct from the Thesmophoreion mentioned by Ptolemy, XV 29. 8. (Does ΕΑΕΤΕΙΝ, presumably for *Ἐλευσίνιον*, on an Alexandrian bone tessera found at Kertch and published by M. Rostovtzeff, *Revue archéologique*, V, 1905, 118, represent another temple?)

¹³⁷ Dittenberger, *Or. gr. inscr. sel.*, 90 note 107; W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten*, I 95 n.

¹³⁸ O. Kern, *Pauly-Wissowa*, IX 621; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 73 f., 125 f. The relevance of the birth of Iacchus was noted by H. Lietzmann, *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 1917, 1466.

¹³⁹ *Vita Pachomii* (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, LXXIII 249) 'undecimo die mensis Tybi, id est octavo Id. Ianuarii quaedam apud Aegyptum celebratur ex more festiuitas,' has been quoted, but the context indicates that it refers to a Christian and not a pagan celebration, and it must be the custom of drawing water on that day, mentioned by Epiphanius in another context (LI 30), as done throughout Egypt and elsewhere: it is not specifically Alexandrian custom, and Epiphanius does not mention it as pagan custom. Cf. on the Epiphany B. Botte, *Les origines de la Noël et de l'Épiphanie* (*Textes et études liturgiques* ed. B. Capelle, I, 1932).

in the determination. It is also clear that there was here nothing as well known and universal as the observance of Natalis Inuicti which lay behind Christmas.

One text may be thought to disprove the idea that the association of the festival with Aion was late, and, as will be suggested, of the second century A.D. Joannes Laurentius Lydus devotes the fourth book of his *De mensibus* to a survey of the months of the Roman year, one by one, and their festivals. Each month has an introduction with the history of its name and something about the deity from whom that name was taken. In speaking of January he quotes Labeo on Janus and his function, and continues thus: *Λογγίνος δὲ Αἰωνάριον αὐτὸν ἐρμηνεύσαι βιάζεται ὥσει τοῦ αἰῶνος πατέρα, ἥ ὅτι ἐνὸν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν Ἕλληνες εἶπον, ὡς Καλλιμάχος ἐν πρώτῳ Αἰτιῶν*

*τετραένον Δαμάσου παῖδα Τελεστορίδην, ἥ ἀπὸ τῆς ἰᾶς ἀντὶ τοῦ τῆς μῆας κατὰ τοὺς Πυθαγορείους. ὅθεν ὁ Μεσσαλᾶς τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν αἰῶνα νομίζει. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς πέμπτῃς τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦτου ἑορτὴν Αἰῶνος ἐπετέλουν οἱ πάλαι.*¹⁴⁰ That is to say, Longinus interprets Januarius as Aionarios, as father of Aion, and Messala thinks that Janus is Aion, for the men of old celebrated a festival of Aion on the fifth of January.

Messala is clearly the augur and antiquarian of the late Republic. There is a longer quotation from him on Janus in Macrobius *Sat. I 9. 14*;

qui cuncta fingit eademque regit, aquae terraeque uim ac naturam grauem atque pronam in profundum dilabentem, ignis atque animae leuem in inmensum sublime fugientem, copulauit circumdato caelo; quae uis caeli maxima duas uis dispare colligauit.

To whom are we to ascribe the words *καὶ γὰρ . . . οἱ πάλαι*? Holl was inclined to regard them as a note by Lydus,¹⁴¹ Reitzenstein as part of the quotation from Messala.¹⁴² If this were so, the festival would be as old as the reordering of the Egyptian calendar in 26/5 B.C. But there is a crucial difficulty. As Reitzenstein saw, if the remark comes from Lydus, *οἱ πάλαι* should refer to Rome; there is an alternative, equally impossible, that it should refer to the general practice of early humanity.¹⁴³ Lydus was capable of gross blunders but he was not the man to write *οἱ πάλαι* for *οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς*. Nor is it likely that an antiquarian writer of the time of Messala would

¹⁴⁰ IV 1 p. 64. 6.

¹⁴¹ *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte*, II 150 f.

¹⁴² *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, 212.

¹⁴³ Lydus uses *οἱ ἀρχαῖοι* of ancient or supposedly ancient writers of the Pythagorean school, e.g. II 11 p. 32. 7 of the number six *ὅθεν καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι γάμον καὶ ἀρμονίαν αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσαν*, with which compare the Pythagorean placitum in Stobaeus I proem 10 p. 22. 3 Wachsmuth *τὴν δὲ ἐξάδα Γάμον καὶ Ἀφροδίτην*. I would refer to a similar source, III 12 p. 54. 17 *ἡ νεομηρία κεφαλὴ μηνὸς πρὸς τῶν ἀρχαίων προσαγορεύεται*, comparing Diels, *Vorsokratiker*, II p. 178. 10 ff. for Orphic circumlocutions, and G. Meyer, *Die stilistische Verwendung der Nominalkomposition* (*Philologus*, Supp. XVI 3) 192 ff. *πάλαι*, *παλαιός* do not necessarily imply a great interval of time; so IV 102 p. 142. 16 *παλαιός* of a man of the second Punic war in relation to the time of Julius Caesar.

show this knowledge of the date of an Alexandrian festival,¹⁴⁴ if indeed the facts about the calendar equation were accessible to him and if he lived till 26/5.¹⁴⁵ At least I know no parallel. Again Ovid, who used Verrius — and Verrius drew upon Messala — says of Janus (Fasti I 90) 'nam tibi par nulum Graecia numen habet.' The cosmological view of Janus appears in Ovid and was commonplace. It seems to me certain that Messala was thinking of Aion as philosophical abstraction and had no knowledge of any cultdeity of the name. The quotation in Macrobius is good evidence.

If we return to the context in Lydus, we see that *καὶ γὰρ . . . οἱ πάλαι* is not very logical in its context. This might be due to the ruthless curtailment to which the text was subjected. Itself a collection of excerpts, it has suffered from a continuation of the process which gave it birth. Now, while changes may have been in the main subtractions, there are clear traces of interpolation also; it is very convenient to interpolate a commonplace book.¹⁴⁶ I would therefore venture to suggest that this is an addition by an erudite scribe or scholiast, who had learned of the Aion festival from Epiphanius at first or second hand.¹⁴⁷ With such an origin the vague phrase *οἱ πάλαι* becomes fully intelligible. In any case, I submit that it is not wise to treat this passage as evidence for the Aion festival in the first century B.C.

I can conclude only that the attribution of the festival to Aion was a fairly late innovation. For this there are parallels. We know for instance the reorganization of the mysteries at Andania in 92 B.C., and again the complete reshaping by Alexander of Abonutichus of an old cult into the brilliant ceremonies and mystery drama of Glycon; the formation of a half Christian

¹⁴⁴ The date of Demophilos, *Περὶ τῶν παρ' ἀρχαίοις θυσίων καὶ ἑορτῶν*, while unknown, is certainly later (A. Tresp, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Kultschriftsteller*, in *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, XV i, 11, 214): the content of Nicomachus *Περὶ ἑορτῶν Αἰγυπτίων* is unknown apart from the fragment in Athenae. XI 55 p. 478 A. Writings with the dates of festivals appear to have been local or national in scope. It is unlike the adducing of native rites to illustrate foreign rites, as in Plutarch *Isis and Osiris*, 69, p. 378.

¹⁴⁵ C. Cichorius, *Römische Studien*, 234 makes an attractive conjecture that he died in 27/6 B.C.; but I do not wish to lean on this.

¹⁴⁶ Fr. Börtzler, *Philologus*, LXXVII, 1921, 364 ff. may go too far in this direction, but there is no doubt that interpolation was liable to happen; cf. for one R. Harder, *Gnomon*, IV, 1928, 648. Cumont, *Byz. Zeit.*, XXX 31 ff. has shown that light is thrown on the text by an examination of its use in the *Hexaemeron* of Anastasius Sinaita. Unfortunately there appears to be no trace of his having known this passage.

Börtzler has recently treated this chapter in his *Janus und seine Deuter* (Abhandl. u. Vortr. hrsgb. v. d. Bremer wiss. Ges. Heft 3/4; Jahrg. 4, Juni 1930, 103 ff.). He argues that there has been dislocation and ascribes the reference to the festival to Longinus. This would not be inconsistent with my view of the date of its origin, but I am inclined to think that the explanation given above of the sentence is more probable.

¹⁴⁷ There is a quotation from this passage of the *Panarion* in the scholia of Cosmas of Jerusalem upon Gregory Nazianzen; Cumont, *C. R. Ac. Inscr.* 1911, 292 ff.

community at Berytus;¹⁴⁸ the probably late introduction of the diamastigosis at Sparta¹⁴⁹ — not to mention the intelligible but rare transference of a priesthood at Orchomenus from hereditary to elective tenure, in Plutarch's time.¹⁵⁰ Such an innovation would often be sanctioned by an oracle or by a supposed personal revelation, like that on the strength of which Pacullia Annia was said to have revolutionized the Bacchanalia.¹⁵¹

The name Aion was in the air and as we have seen emotion gathered around it; in Egypt Aion appeared under Antoninus Pius in 138/9 as a coinlegend with a representation of a phoenix to celebrate the opening of a new Sothic cycle.¹⁵² Was this the occasion for the introduction? If so, we could understand the failure to copy it throughout the land, since there was now no corporate action by the priesthood. In any case, the time is appropriate. It is the age of Basileides, whose followers celebrated the baptism of Christ, some on January 10, some of January 6.¹⁵³ Hippolytus quotes the Naassenes as interpreting the story of Kore's child as being Αἰὼν Αἰώνων. There is further evidence for the popularity of Aion in the hymns ascribed to Mesomedes, a Cretan poet of the time of the Antonines. The first is directed to Physis. After the first fourteen lines the speaker turns to the sun, and says

σὺ δ' ὦ λαμπραῖς ἀκτῖσιν
γαῖαν πᾶσαν πυρσεύων
Αἰὼν ἀσβέστων φλογμῶν
ταῖς σαῖς δέρκευ με γλήναις
ὄλβον χεύων εὐαγῇ
τῷ σῷ, Παιάν, βακχεύτα.
. . . . Τιτάν¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁸ Described by the Arian historian printed by J. Bidez at the end of his edition of Philostorgius, p. 214.

¹⁴⁹ R. C. Bosanquet, *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.*, XII, 1905/6, 314 ff.; H. J. Rose, in *Artemis Orthia* ed. R. M. Dawkins (*Journ. Hell. Stud.*, Supp. V), 405. At Athens a sacrifice to Asclepius was introduced in the Aianteia (L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 228).

¹⁵⁰ *Quaest. Gr.* 38, discussed by Halliday ad loc. 164 ff.

¹⁵¹ *Liv.*, XXXIX 13. 9.

¹⁵² J. Vogt, *Die Alexandrinischen Münzen*, I 115.

¹⁵³ *Clem. Al. Stromata* I 21, p. 90 Stählin.

¹⁵⁴ Ed. Wilamowitz, *Griechische Verskunst*, 596 f.; K. Horna, *Die Hymnen des Mesomedes*, *Sitzungsberichte Wien*, 207 i, 1928.

"Thou that with bright flames does light all earth, Aion of unquenched flames, look on me with thy eyes, pouring blest wealth on thy reveller, Paian . . . Titan." It may be that the festival was due to some learned or speculative man interested in Egyptian tradition who happened to hold high office. We know, for instance, of L. Julius Vestinus who was such a man and in the time of Hadrian held office as 'high priest of Alexandria and of all Egypt.'¹⁵⁵ In any case, the tendency to blend religious concepts was strong at Alexandria.

This excursus has been necessary, because the identification of Helios as Aion is so important for our determination of the mental atmosphere of the writer of our text and because it makes it probable that the Alexandrian festival did not influence him. We have seen our closest analogies in the magic papyri and it is probably from somewhere in that world that the idea was taken. Yet I do not press this, for in the second century of our era celestial deities were widely worshipped as eternal,¹⁵⁶ as the sun and other gods had been called from of old in Egypt.¹⁵⁷ Now it was possible to pass from an adjective to a noun. There is an instructive passage in Epictetus, II 5. 13. We must, he says, put up with circumstances; "I am not eternity, but a man, a part of the whole as an hour is of a day. I must come into being like an hour and pass like an hour."¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ W. Otto, *Priester u. Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten*, I 59: Claudius Julianus (not identified) was Idios Logos and probably in control, A.D. 135-40 (ib., I 174).

¹⁵⁶ Cumont, *Pauly-Wissowa*, I 696 f. In *deus aeternus*, *numen aeternum* used without any specific divine name we may perhaps see some trace of a feeling for the effective vagueness of such descriptive circumlocution: for this in the magic papyri, cf. Bell-Nock-Thompson, *Magical Texts from a bilingual papyrus in the British Museum* (Proc. Brit. Acad. XVII), 34, 37. The epithet is in the nature of a *Pathosformel*. cf. n. 111 above.

¹⁵⁷ Thus in the hymns to the Pharaonic diadem edited by A. Erman, *Abh.*, Berlin, 1911, we read p. 28 'Herrin der Ewigkeit.'

¹⁵⁸ So *Corpus Hermeticum*, XI 20, where the soul is exhorted to make itself equal to God to infinite magnitude, *παντὸς σώματος ἐκπηδήσας καὶ πάντα χρόνον ἡμετέρας αἰῶν γενοῦ, καὶ νοήσεις τὸν θεόν*. R. Reitzenstein, *Gnomon*, III, 1927, 282 and Zepf, *Archiv*, XXV, 1927, 243 write *Αἰών* and hold that the reference is to this concrete conception. But compare mystical parallels in W. Scott, *Hermetica*, II 329 ff. — Cf. an Arab saying quoted by Reitzenstein, *Historia Monachorum*, 128, 'wer darauf lauscht in Wahrheit, Wahrheit wird,' and Evagrius Ep. 29, ed W. Frankenberg, *Abh.*, Göttingen, XIII 2 p. 587 ἡ δὲ ἅγια τριάς γνώσις οὐσιώδης ἐστὶν ἀνεξιχνιάστος τε καὶ ἀκατάληπτος.

Before we return to the exegesis of the other elements in our text, I should like to emphasize once more that there was not under the Empire a wellknown and influential complex of ideas about Aion. This is at times assumed, but cannot be substantiated. The word was widespread and clearly exercised a certain fascination. But it did not carry with it any very definite connotation, and to call Helios Aion was not concrete, as it was to call Isis Tyche. Aion does not appear in the Praises of Isis at Cyme and elsewhere, except as a conventional word for 'time,' as again ἐγὼ τύραννος εἰς αἰῶνος μόνη, in l. 4 of the Cyrene hymn.¹⁵⁹ In all the literature which speaks of the unity of the fundamental substratum of men's beliefs, in all the attempts of Christian apologists to show that paganism at its best was essentially monotheistic, there is not a word of Aion — with the exception of so-called 'Oracles of the Greek gods,' which quote the Clarian oracle, but do not enlarge upon it.¹⁶⁰ Artemidorus knows the personification of nature, Physis, as one of the deities whom a man might see in his dreams (III 39), but he does not mention Aion. We cannot expect of so detached an observer as Plotinus any great interest in popular notions and beliefs, but it is perhaps significant that he says (III 7. 5) that eternity is an august thing and identical with God, and might fairly be called a god. It is ἂν λέγοιτο, and not λέγεται.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ W. Peek, *Der Isishymnos von Andros*, 129.

¹⁶⁰ K. Buresch, *Klaros*, 97 f.

¹⁶¹ We must here consider one supposed testimony to the worship of Aion; Philo. *Quaest. in Gen.*, I 100, preserved in Armenian and commonly quoted from Aucher's Latin translation, includes the sentence 'Secundo tempus (ut Cronus uel Chronus) ab hominum pessimis putatur deus, volentibus Ens essenziale abscondere.' What Aucher gives in brackets consists, as Professor Casey informs me, of words which he thought it necessary or desirable to supply. The content in itself indicates that 'tempus' corresponds to *καιρός*, and Dr. H. Lewy has drawn my attention to the fact that the Greek original is extant in two independent excerpts, made by Joannes Damascenus and by Procopius of Gaza (J. Rendel Harris, *Fragments of Philo Judaeus*, 19; P. Wendland, *Neu entdeckte Fragmente Philos*, 50 f.). Both give *καιρός*. The allegorical deification of Kairos is well known, cf. A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II 859 ff., and it may be that Philo speaks of this as a habit of the worst of men in view of its appropriateness to the character of opportunists.

VII. THE FORM OF THE RECORD

We see at once in this text that it combines superficial errors of spelling and vocalization with language of an exalted and literary character. It is instructive to compare it with a number of hymns to the sun from late Hellenistic and Roman times.¹⁶² There are three inscriptional instances of interest. One was found inscribed at Susa, and is at latest of the first century B.C. It is like the hymn of Maximus (p. 59, above) in its fairly recondite metre — in this case glyconics and pherecrateans — which however it combines with the invocation *Mapâ θεέ*, in which Mara is Semitic and *θεέ* a vocative absent from classical Greek and confined to Jewish and Christian texts and to the magic papyri, where it probably shows Jewish influence, — and in its giving of the dedicant's name both explicitly and in an acrostic. It is like our text in its creedlike character, shown in vv. 28/9. "Therefore peoples and cities have consecrated thine eye of many names, for thou alone wast revered of all."¹⁶³ The two hymns of Nikon inscribed in marble at Pergamon are notable for the emphasis on cosmic order, for the presence in one of the Stoic etymology for ouranos, and for the giving of the number-equivalence in letters of the dedicant's name.¹⁶⁴ We know also Mesomedes, X and I 15 ff.; Statius, Thebaid, I 696 ff.; hymns in P. gr. mag., I 296 ff., IV 436 ff. (and copies); Orphic hymn 8 (to Helios), 34 (to Apollo); Proclus hymn I; Anon. in Abel, Orphica, p. 285; Anthologia Latina 389; and in prose Menander Rhetor, On epideictic speeches, 16, (On Sminthiac Apollo),¹⁶⁵ and Martianus Capella, II 191.

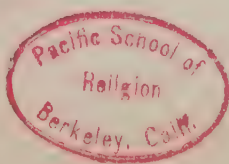
¹⁶² Our text is not a hymn: it lacks the normal element of petition at the end. For hymn structure, cf. K. Keyssner, *Gottesvorstellung und Lebensauffassung im griechischen Hymnus* (Würzburger Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft, II, 1932); H. Meyer, *Hymnische Stilelemente in der frühgriechischen Dichtung* (Würzburg, 1933).

¹⁶³ Cumont, *Mémoires de la mission archéologique en Perse*, XX, 1928, 89 ff.; dating ap. Nilsson, *Archiv* XXX, 164 n. 3. On *θεέ*, cf. Nock, *Journ. Egypt. Arch.* XV, 223; Bell-Nock-Thompson, 36; on *Mapâ*, cf. Cumont, *C. R. Ac.-Inscr.*, 1930.

¹⁶⁴ M. Fränkel, *Inscripfen von Pergamon*, II 245 f. n. 333; H. Hepding, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXII, 1907, 356 ff.

¹⁶⁵ Edited by Bursian, *Abh. Munich*, XVI, 1882.

In all these we find similar accumulations of epithets and the statement of the sun's activities. In the Susa hymn Apollo is παντόπτης, ὑπατος [θεῶν] (l. 31); in Orph. H. 8 μάκαρ, πανδερκὲς ἔχων αἰώνιον ὄμμα, Τιτὰν χρυσαυγῆς . . . κοσμοκράτορ . . . χρόνον πάτερ, ἀθάνατε Ζεῦ; in Orphic H. 34, μάκαρ . . . Μεμφίτα . . . Τιτάν . . . πανδερκὲς ἔχων φαεσίμβροτον ὄμμα . . . ἄνακτα. In Mesomedes, X the coming of Helios is expected; I 15 was quoted earlier (p. 97). The 'Division of epideictic speeches' by Menander Rhetor or Genethlius gives directions for the composition of hymns, a title then commonly used of prose glorifications. One category is that of physikoi, such as were held in esteem by Parmenides and Empedocles, dealing with the nature of Apollo or of Zeus.¹⁶⁶ Menander later illustrates this by the examples of a hymn to Apollo in which we say that he is the sun and speaks about the sun's nature, a hymn to Hera in which we speak of her as air, and one to Zeus, in which we speak of him as warmth.¹⁶⁷ The work 'On epideictic speeches' gives hints for the praising of Apollo Smintheus, opening with a prayer that Apollo may give power to the word which is to be spoken. After the proem is to follow "O Sminthian Apollo, how shall I address thee? As the sun, the dispenser of light and spring of this heavenly radiance, or as mind, as say those who tell gods' praises (ὡς ὁ τῶν θεολογούντων λόγος), mind that passes through the regions of heaven and goes through ether to earth? Or as the maker of all things, or a second power? . . . But I leave these questions to the meditation of the sons of the wise." He passes to the birth story, saying, "This story is not altogether uncongenial to thee, for it had the truer knowledge as a thing concealed within itself."¹⁶⁸ It is noteworthy that the physical explanation is regarded as suitable for a public and popular discourse. Later he says "If we are to tell also the more veiled story honored by the sons of the philosophers" and speaks of the notion that the sun moves according to musical law and governs the universe by harmony.¹⁶⁹ It is to be remarked for the end of our text that he states that the praise

¹⁶⁶ P. 32.¹⁶⁸ Pp. 143 f.¹⁶⁷ P. 36.¹⁶⁹ P. 148.

of the speaker's country as dear to Apollo is appropriate;¹⁷⁰ εἰκότως δὲ τὴν ἡμετέραν χώραν ἡγάπησεν ὁ θεός, ἰδὼν αὐτὴν κάλλει διαφέρονσαν, which is parallel to ἦν ὁ ἥλιος Μανδούλις ἀγαπᾷ, τὴν ἱερὰν Τάλμιν. The end of the hymn celebrates Apollo as called by many names, as ruler of every race, as Mithras, Horus, Dionysus, as lord of the stars according to the Chaldaeans, and prays a blessing upon the city and the festival. The composition of such hymns was practised by men of high literary standing and, as astrological writers inform us, conferred social prestige.¹⁷¹

The hymn in P. gr. mag., I 296 ff. invokes Apollo as θεὸν αἰώνιον Αἰῶνά τε πάντων; another hymn found four times in these papyri invokes Helios as lord of the elements, μάκαρ, ἄφθιτε, δεσπότης κόσμου, and asks him if he enters the chasm under the earth to send a spirit desired for the determining of the future.¹⁷² An invocation of Apollo in II 81 ff. bids him descend, μάκαρ . . . Τιτάν . . . Διὸς γαιήοχον ὄμμα, παμφαές . . . χρυσομίτρη . . . χρυσήνιε χρυσοκέλευθα, glorifies him in respect of the hours of the day, and tells of his supremacy over the whole world. Τιτάν we find again in Proclus and (as well as βασιλεύς) in the anonymous hymn; "Ἡλιε Τιτάν also in P. gr. mag., XXIII 5 (the hymn in the Kestoi of Julius Africanus). There is therefore abundant and illuminating analogy for our text among Greek hymns to Helios and the obvious pleasure taken by its writer in long compound epithets is exactly like what we find in the Orphic hymns and in the hymns in the magic papyri.¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ P. 145. For the honor paid by a god to his home cf. Keyssner, op. cit., 60. 70. The Cyme version of the praises of Isis ends χαῖρε Αἴγυπτε θρέψασά με (Peek 124); compare the numerous inscriptions on autonomous coins struck under the Empire glorifying cities.

¹⁷¹ Firmicus Maternus, Mathesis, III 5. 33 'facit uel cultores [deorum] diuinorum simulacrorum uel ornatores deorum uel fabricatores templorum aut hymnologos et qui laudes deorum cum iactantiae ostentatione decantent, ex quibus rebus gloriam et honores habebunt; Rhetorios in Cat. codd. astr. gr., VIII iv p. 165. 12 f.

¹⁷² Br. Kuster, De tribus carminibus papyri Parisinae magicae (Diss. Königsberg, 1911), 18 ff.

¹⁷³ Cf. G. Meyer, Nominalkomposition, 64 ff.

VIII. THE SPIRIT OF THE RECORD

Our writer had thus literary models before him and he and his fellows who thus recorded their piety belong to the interesting category of men of the people who sought to approximate to literary form.¹⁷⁴ And yet his expression of feelings is something more. It is a confession of faith. As such it is not unique, and there is one parallel which deserves quotation because it comes from a similar or only somewhat higher social level and the same intellectual attitude. At Carvoran on the Roman wall in England there is this inscription

imminet Leoni Virgo caelesti situ
 spicifera, iusti inuentrix, urbium conditrix,
 ex quis muneribus nosse contigit deos.
 ergo eadem mater diuum, Pax, Virtus, Ceres,
 dea Syria, lance uitam et iura pensitans.
 in caelo uisum Syria sidus edidit
 Libyae colendum. inde cuncti didicimus.
 ita intellexit numine inductus tuo
 Marcus Caecilius Donatianus militans
 tribunus in praefecto dono principis.¹⁷⁵

They are both statements of belief, and statements which like Peter's confession to Jesus are thought to be possible only by some supernatural aid.¹⁷⁶ Ancient paganism was untheological but there was at times in the recognition of deities the self-surrender and the acceptance of what was thought to be revelation, which can be called faith. Such a picture is presented in the Heroicus of Philostratus.

In such documents as this we see the temper which could turn to enthusiastic adherence to Christianity. We see also certain features which contributed to the special characteristics

¹⁷⁴ This deserves further study; thus there is a marked resemblance between the structure of P. Oxy. 1381 and the hymn of Aristides to Zeus; cf. Nock, *Journ. Egypt. Arch.*, XVIII, 1932, 81.

¹⁷⁵ *Carm. lat. epigr.* 24. The tone of these expressions is quite different from acclamations of the εἰς θεός type: but Kaibel *Epigrammata graeca* 1139 (an amulet) approximates: εἰς Βατρ, εἰς Ἀθώρ, μὴ τῶν (μὲν) αὐτῶν = αὐτῶν: S. Eitrem, *Symbolae Osloenses*, X, 1932, 155) βία, εἰς δὲ Ἀκωρι· χαῖρε πάτερ κόσμου, χαῖρε τρίμορφε θεός; cf. on it W. Spiegelberg, *Archiv*, XXI, 1922, 225 ff. (dating it 1-2 cent. A.D.).

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Reitzenstein, *Historia Monachorum* 135 ff. for the power to praise God regarded as a special gift of God.

of Christianity in Egypt. The tendency to seek seclusion has been remarked earlier; so has the belief in the efficacy of ascetic practice as a preliminary to the attempt to receive revelations, and the desire to obtain a revelation to settle a question. We see the forerunner of some of the men of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, who of set purpose sought revelations to answer doubts as to the change of the species in the Eucharist, or the question whether Melchizedek was the son of God.¹⁷⁷ Like them, our writer had had contact with ideas from a milieu above his own which laid hold upon his imagination because of a certain pictorial content which they possessed. He had also an absolute conviction of the reality of the supernatural powers to which he addressed himself. This quest for gnosis, this faith in self-denial, and this conviction sometimes seem to us artificial and literary in the Hermetic writings and in the *Lausiac History*. The inscriptions in this temple may suggest to us that there was in them something deeprooted. What was sought under the new religion was not the same, but the spirit in which it was sought was not wholly different. "Quand il n'y en aura plus, il y en aura encore."

¹⁷⁷ Cotelier, I 421, 423. Cf. the beginning of the *Thaleia* of Arius as quoted by Athanasius, *Contra gentes*, I 5; *τούτων* (his predecessors) *κατ' ἔχρος ἦλθον ἐγὼ βαίνων ὁμοδόξως ὁ περικλυτός, ὁ πολλὰ παθὼν διὰ τὴν Θεοῦ δόξαν, ὑπὸ τε Θεοῦ μαθὼν σοφίαν καὶ γνῶσιν ἐγὼ ἔγνων.*

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